

Hepnesenting the Evil Principle of India and the Symbols of tha Sanguinary Worthip.

To the Dight Honouralde Henry Addington, Incaher of the House of Commons, this admirable fixed of the Ikillim Intuary of the Universit Indians, is grapfully and respectfully inscribed by

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INDIAN ANTIQUITIES:

OR,

DISSERTATIONS,

RELATIVE TO

THE ANCIENT GEOGRAPHICAL DIVISIONS,
THE PURE SYSTEM OF PRIMEVAL THEOLOGY,
THE GRAND CODE OF CIVIL LAWS,
THE ORIGINAL FORM OF GOVERNMENT,
THE WIDELY-EXTENDED COMMERCE, AND
THE VARIOUS AND PROFOUND LITERATURE,

OF HINDOSTAN:

COMPARED, THROUGHOUT, WITH THE RELIGION, LAWS, GOVERNMENT, COMMERCE, AND LITERATURE,

O F

PERSIA, EGYPT, AND GREECE.

THE WHOLE

Intended as Introductory to, and Illustrative of,

THE HISTORY OF HINDOSTAN,
UPON A COMPREHENSIVE SCALE.

VOL. VI.—PART I.

Containing DISSERTATIONS on the ORIGIN of the DRUIDS, and the ANCIENT COMMERCE of HINDOSTAN.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR THE AUTHOR, No. 31, UPPER NORTON-STREET, AND SOLD BY W. RICHARDSON, UNDER THE ROYAL EXCHANGE.

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TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE AND REVEREND

ROBERT,

EARL OF HARBOROUGH,

THE CONCLUDING PORTION

OF THESE

INDIAN ANTIQUITIES,

THUS FAR ADVANCED TOWARDS MATURITY.

PRINCIPALLY UNDER

THE FOSTERING SMILE OF HIS LORDSHIP.

THE FRIEND OF TOILING SCIENCE,

IS, WITH THE SINCEREST GRATITUDE AND ATTACHMENT,

RESPECTFULLY INSCRIBED,

BY HIS LORDSHIP's

EVER OBLIGED AND FAITHFUL SERVANT,

THOMAS MAURICE.

ADVERTISEMENT.

HE Author presents his respects to those gentlemen who have honoured the preceding volumes of Indian Antiqui-TIES with their approbation and support. He would have been exceedingly happy, in conformity with what is intimated in the Preface, had it been possible, to have made the present, the final, volume of this production; but the introduction, at the earnest request of numerous subscribers, of a new and important subject, the ANCIENT COMMERCE OF HINDOSTAN, without which, a work of this kind must have been imperfect to gentlemen connected with India, necessarily occasions its extension to a seventb volume. He trusts, alfo,

ADVERTISEMENT.

lume, exceeding by almost a third any before published, added to the superior execution of the engravings, and the consideration of the great rise of paper, printing, and every other typographical article, since the year 1791, the date of its first appearance, will prove a sufficient apology for his raising the price of this volume from Seven Shillings to Half-a-Guinea; without which, neither the expenses of it can be disbursed, nor the Author remunerated for the labour and time consumed on a subject of most abstrace literary research; though extremely interesting, he conceives, to the British Merchant.

A fecond and enlarged edition of the ELEGIAC AND HISTORICAL POEM, on the Death of SIR WILLIAM JONES, recently published by the Author, may be had, price 3s. at No. 31, Upper Norton-street, Portlandroad.

ERRATA.

Of Errata in this volume, I trust, there are few, and none are to be laid to the charge of my Printer, Mr. Galabin, whom I think myself bound publicly to recommend for judgment and accuracy in his profession. Of those that have arisen during my own ardour of composition, I think it necessary to notice only two: for eight bundred, in page 115, read eighteen hundred; the other is in page 416; where the reader will be pleased to draw his pen over these words, near the bottom: " I shall transcribe from his entertaining page the principal circumstances enumerated during their progress." On consulting the passage alluded to in Tavernier, I found it far too long for infertion, especially as another on the internal caravans of India was so immediately to follow. The erasure proposed will make good sense of the passage.

PREFACE

time loud in its demand for the fixth and final volume of Indian Antiquities; and, finding myself at present utterly unable, as well from the untimely decease of the illustrious literary character who patronized and promoted my labours, as the delay of some books and manuscripts extremely important to me, which I expected from a learned friend in India, by the early ships of this season, to proceed in my Dissertations on the Jurisprudence and Ancient Literature of India; in order to demonstrate to my friends that neither my zeal has cooled, nor industry abated, I have resolved to divide that volume into two

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parts, for the first of which I now respectfully folicit their accustomed indulgence. Conceiving myself entitled, by my original proposals, to select for discussion in these volumes any subject intimately connected with the ANTIQUITIES OF INDIA; and those deeper theological investigations which, I am concerned to find, have, in certain quarters, excited so much disgust, being now dismissed, I have endeavoured to relieve the gloom and weariness, too generally complained of as accompanying extensive religious disquisitions, however necessary and important, by seeking out such topics as might interest and entertain. To that end, as none, I presume, can be more gratifying to the general class of my readers than those that equally concern India and Britain, I have selected the venerable order of Druids, their doctrines, and rites, which have fuch an immediate and wonderful affinity with those of the Brahmins; and the aneient commerce of the Phoenicians, Carthaginians, and Greeks, carried on, prior to the Christian

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Christian æra, with India on the one hand, and Britain on the other, for their consideration in this first part of the final volume,

It was not my intention, indeed, in these Researches, to have descended to periods subsequent to that æra, but my gratitude to the Honourable Court of East-India Directors for their liberal patronage of the History of Hindostan, my anxious desire to make this work essentially useful to gentlemen going out in a commercial capacity to India, and the important circumstance of the revival, at the present day, of that particular branch of its traffic with the East, which rendered this island so celebrated in antiquity, I mean the TIN of the Cornish mines—a measure which reflects such honour both on the patriotism and wisdom of the Directors, and is of such material consequence, at this momentous crifis, by retaining fo much bullion in the country, and giving bread to fo many thousands of distressed miners: these united reasons have induced

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induced me to deviate somewhat from my proposed plan, and to sketch out such a summary but clear view of the ancient and present commercial connection of Britain with
India, as may prove at once gratifying to the
scholar and useful to the merchant,

Notwithstanding, however, my utmost efforts to contract, without obscuring, this interesting subject, the field of retrospect is so vast, and the objects it displays are so numerous, so varied, to complicated, that I am reluctantly compelled to extend the survey to two Dissertations, the first only of which, tracing that commerce down to the conquest of Egypt by Augustus Cæsar, is here presented to the candid reader. The remaining Differtation will precede, in the second part, the Dissertations on the Laws, Government, and Literature, of Hindostan, which, I trust, the arrival of the expected papers, by the latter fleet of this seafon, will enable me to complete and produce in the ensuing spring. I hope that none of mx

my readers will be fo ungenerous as to impute to interested motives this farther delay and extension of the Indian Antiquities; for, I can affure them, from fatal experience, thefe are not times to engage, as I have done, in voluminous publication, at the fole hazard of the author; that a very large proportion of the fourth and fifth volumes, possibly on account of the subject, still remains unfold; and that, fo far from wishing to extend, I have been long folicitous to terminate, this work, that my mind might be at liberty to purfue, without interruption, the important subject of the greater undertaking in which I have now embarked. No confideration, however, shall induce me to finish, in a hasty and incorrect manner, a production, which, with all its defects, (and what human work can boaft perfection?) has been honoured with fo respectable a number of subscribers, and with fo flattering a portion of the public applause.

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been an acknowledged point in the world of antiquaries. Mr. Reuben Burrow, the great practical astronomer of India, was the first person, who, after a strict examination and comparison of their mythological superstitions and their periods, directly affirmed them to be a race of emigrated Indian philosophers.*

The assertion, bold and unqualified as it was, made, at the time of my reading it, a considerable impression on my mind; and, in considerable impression on my mind; and, in consequence, I sate down to that elaborate investigation of their rites and symbols, of which the prior Dissertation in this volume is the result.

The basis of my argument for their Indian extraction is, that the elder Buddha of India, who should never be confounded with the second Buddha, or Bedou, the Fo of the Chi-

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[•] See Asiatic Researches, vol. ii. p. 488, in the Appendix.

nele, and the founder of an atheistical sect. in periods far more recent, is, in fact, the Mercury of the West, and this is not only afferted by Sir William Jones, from the similitude of their rites and fymbols, but can be aftronomically proved; fince, in India, the day of the week affigned to Buddha is by the Greeks affigned to Hermes, by the Romans to Mercury, and by the northern nations to Woden; being denominated, in the respective dialecte of those nations, Boodh or Buddhawar, Epus ημερα, Mercurii dies, Woden's day, and, from the last, corruptedly by us, Wednesday. The ancient MERCURIAL HEAPS. or carns, of those fire-adoring fages; their veneration for the CUBIC, the symbol of Mercury among the early Greeks; their representing the Deity in their immense groves under the form of the letter T, THAU, as the Egyptians designated their Thoth, or Hermes; their reverence for the Anguinum, or ferpent-egg, which is only the mundane egg of Tyre, rendered prolific by the embrace of the Αγαθοδαιμων,

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Azatobaijan, or good genius, fymbolized by that serpent; and, finally, the evident CADUceus of Mercury, designated in the globe, wings, and ferpent, that formed their grand temple at Abury, and not only that but other conspicuous DRACONTIA, in Britain: all these circumstances enumerated, and fully discussed in the course of the Differtation alluded to, are to myself abundant testimony of their connection with, if not descent from, Buddha. Under this appellation I contend must be understood some deified prince of the family of the Noachidæ, a distinguished AVATAR of India, the eighth in order from the Matsya, or Fish-God, incontestibly NoAH, (whether Mr. Bryant's most elaborate volumes be consulted, or my own humbler historical details,) who. in the lofty regions of the Tauric range, the remotest from the danger of inundation, but in æras to which regular annals cannot be expected to ascend, seems to have established an empire and a religion, which diffused their combined influence over every region of the Higher

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Higher Asia, and many evident vestiges of which are still visible. Among these are the Thibetian rolls inscribed with Sanscreet characters, alluded to by Sir William Jones, in page 31,* as well as the ancient medals and imperial fignets engraved with Thibetian characters, mentioned by Mr. Halhed, + and the frequent pilgrimages at this day undertaken by the more rigid devotees of India, from the banks. of the Ganges and the most distant provinces of the Peninfula, to the territories of the Grand Lama. Accurately to afcertain, at this distant period, the cause, the mode, the time, of this emigration exceeds the limit of human research: but possibly the first may be found in the general causes of emigration, curiofity, persecution, or the ambition, of men, who, in those early ages, combined a fort of regal with the prieftly character. The mode was, doubtless, by land-journies, in company

[.] Of the present volume.

A See the Preface to Mr. Halhed's Sanscreet Grammar, p. 5. with

with the Celtic tribes, previous to the establishment of the great Indian empire and system of jurisprudence which forbad emigration, in the more fouthern provinces; or allowing the early branches of the family of Noah for the purpose of effecting the gracious defigns of Providence in peopling the earth to have had a knowledge of the MAGNET, by the way of the great Ocean itself. The period was, probably, when the true religion began to be corrupted, but before its total corruption, by the Sabian idolatries. In this view the matter appears to myself; if all my readers should not be equally convinced by the arguments which I have been able to produce, I still flatter myself, that the detail of many other curious facts which nearly concern them. as Britons, may yet amply reward them for the trouble of perusal.

I think it absolutely necessary, however, to shield myself from censure, for so warmly espousing an opinion that must appear entire-

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ly novel, if not extremely eccentric, to readers not conversant in Indian manners and history, by laying before them the following short extracts from the Differtation of Mr.1 Burrow, before alluded to, in the Afiatic Refearches, although I am far from esteeming it equally necessary to adopt his hypothesis of the alteration of the place of the equator, connected with the afferted migration. I have endeavoured to support his positions by arguments not hostile to religion, and far less violent to nature. "From the aforesaidcountry, the means Siberia, rendered habitable and fertile by the equatorial line passing through the centre of Asia,) the Hindoo religion probably spread over the whole earth; there are figns of it in every northerncountry, and in almost every system of worship: in England it is obytous; Stone-HENGE IS EVIDENTLY ONE OF THE TEMPLES or Boodh; and the arithmetic, astronomy, astrology; the HOLIDAYS, GAMES, names of the stars, and figures of the constellations; Vol. VI. the

the ANCIENT MONUMENTS, LAWS, and COINS: the LANGUAGES of the different nations; bear the strongest marks of the same original." Again he observes, on the supposition that the Indians were, in the infancy of their existence as a nation, divided into the two great fects of Brahma and Buddha, "that the Brahmins were the true authors of the Ptolemaic system, and the Boodhists of the Copernican,* as well as of the doctrine of attraction, and that probably the established religion of the Greeks; and the Eleufinian mysteries were only varieties of the two different fects." Amongst other circumstances. he tell us, that he compared an astrolabe in the Nagari (the oldest Sanscreet) character of India, with Chaucer's description of one, and found them to agree together most minutely; even the centre-pin, which Chaucer calls the horse, "having a borse's bead upon the instrument:" and, after acquainting us that

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^{*} See page 241 of this volume, on the Druids' prefumed know; ledge of the elliptical courses of the orbs.

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he meant shortly to enter into a full investigation of the question, he finally gives it as his own decided opinion, that "THE DROIDS WERE BRAHMINS."*

The death of this ingenious gentleman in India prevented the completion of his engagement, and the present is only a humble effort, made amidst the pressure of illness, and other weightier pursuits, to fill up some of the outlines of his projected plan.

I embrace this opportunity of informing the subscribers to the History of India, in quarto, that I am making as rapid a progress in that work as the nature of the subject, and the increased difficulty of obtaining genuine materials, since the ever to be lamented decease of Sir William Jones, will allow; but, at present, I dare not mention any particular period for its appearance. When the second

part

Afatic Researches, vol. ii. p. 489, Calcutta quarto edition.

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part of this volume shall be published, and this work be finally concluded, I hope to be able to give the public more certain information on that point; to fix that period, and be punctual to it.

My most fincere and grateful acknowledgements are due, and are hereby respectfully returned to various right reverend, noble, and other distinguished personages, who, knowing the difficulties attending so extensive a work as that in which I am engaged, particularly in the article of books, of the most expensive species, as connected with antiquary research, and engravings fo indispensably necessary in all mythological details, have endeavoured, by their liberality, to mitigate those expenses, and alleviate the embarrassments attendant on a contracted income. Through these means much has been done by the toil of a zealous individual; but far more remains yet to be done: and I should be concerned, that the second volume of ancient Indian History, which will will be final, and bring that history down to the death of Aurungzebe, at the commencement of this century, should be inferior in point of magnitude and elegance to the former. Having, therefore, returned to Nortonstreet, whence indisposition, brought on by fevere application, has compelled my absence during the greater part of the present year, I shall continue to receive subscriptions for that work till the ensuing May, when the list of names must go to the press; and also the following bankers, my subscribers and friends, have done me the favour to permit subscriptions to be received at their houses: - Messrs. HAMMERSLEY'S and Co. Pall-Mall, and Messrs. STEPHENSON'S and Co. No. 69, Lombardffreet.

No. 31, Upper Norton-Street,
December 1, 1796.

A DISSER-

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DISSERTATION

ON THE

INDIAN ORIGIN OF THE DRUIDS;

AND ON THE

STRIKING AFFINITY

WHICH THE

RELIGIOUS RITES AND CEREMONIES,

ANCIENTLY PRACTISED IN THE BRITISH ISLANDS,

BORE TO THOSE

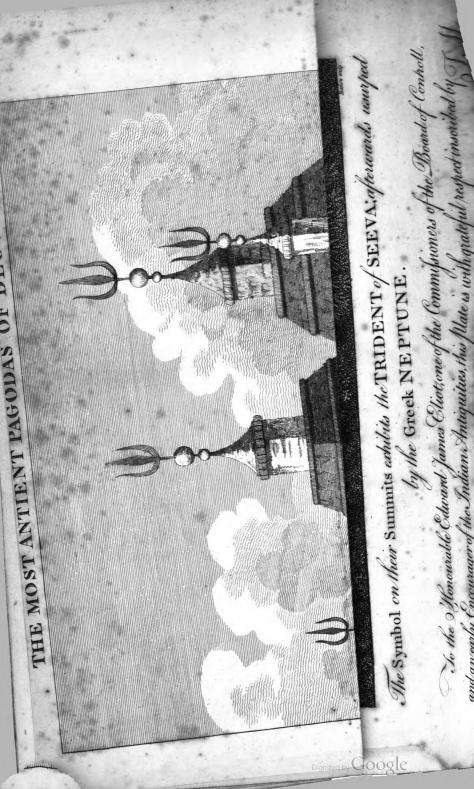
OF THE BRAHMINS.

DISSERTATION, &c.

SECTION I.

The Author unfolds his Design in this Essay. — The immense Extent of the ancient Indian Empire; and the wide Diffusion of the Indian Mythology and Sciences throughout Afia. -The geographical Limits of the not less extensive Region of Scythia. - These two mighty Nations, the Indians and Persians being throughout confidered as one People, possessed the greater Part of Asia: the Indians, from the earliest Periods, a polished Race; the Scythians, ever Barbarians. — Escaped from the Horrors of the general Deluge, the Noachida, who settled in Afia, inhabited the Regions nearest the great Range of Taurus. In the Median Mountains, and near the Heights of Caucasus, were established,





blished, in Caverns, their first Schools. Colleges of Naugracut and Thibet, in the North of India, particularly famous. From thence emigrated into Tartary successive Colonies of Priests professing the Religion of Buddha, or Boodh, who was the Hermes, or Mercury, of the Western, and the Woden of the Northern, World. The Japhetic Tribes, described generally under the Names of Scythian and Celtic, straitened for Room and Pasturage, pursue their Direction through the Northern Afia, emigrate to Europe, and with them those Sages of the Indian Schools, to whom we give the Name of Druids. Some remarkable Instances adduced of the firiking Affinity existing between the primaval Languages of Asia and those spoken in Europe, particularly in the British Isles.

Y intention, in the following Differtation, is to prove, as far as the remoteness of the æra alluded to, and the abstruse nature of the subjects discussed in the course of it will allow of proof, that the celebrated order of Druids, anciently established B 2 in

in this country, were the immediate descendants of a tribe of Brahmins situated in the high northern latitudes bordering on the vast range of Caucasus: that these, during that period of the Indian empire when its limits were most extended in Asia, mingling with the Celto-Scythian tribes, who tenanted the immense deserts of Grand Tartary, became gradually incorporated, though not consounded, with that ancient nation; introduced among them the rites of the Brahmin religion, occasionally adopting those of the Scythians, and, together with them, finally emigrated to the western regions of Europe.

To form any correct notion of the extent of the Indian empire, when in its glory, we must consult the Sanscreet geographers, and take our survey of a country comprising an area of near forty degrees on each side, and including a space almost as large as all Europe; a region divided on the west from Persia by the Arachosian mountains, limited on the east by the Chinese part of the farther peninsula, confined on the north by the wilds of Tartary, and extending on the south as far as the isles of Java. The above is the demarcation of the ancient limits of India by an author not likely

to have erred in defining them; and this trapezium, he goes on to observe, comprehends the stupendous hills of Tibet, the beautiful valley of Cashmir, and all the domains of the old Indo-Scythians, the countries of Nepal and Bootan, Camrup or Asam, together with Siam, Ava, Racan, and the bordering kingdoms, as far as the China of the Hindoos, or Sin of the Arabian geographers; not to mention the whole western peninsula with the celebrated island of Sinhala, or Lion-like men, at its southern extremity.*

If the period above-mentioned, remote as it is, should not be thought sufficiently distant in the annals of time for the first migration of the Asiatic colonies, and the earliest importation into the western world of the religious rites in use among them, we have it in our power, through the same authentic channel, to penetrate to the very birth of civil establishments, and find the primæval ancestors of the Hindoos sitting, in patriarchal majesty, upon the throne of Iran, or Persia, in the very

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centre

^{*} See Sir William Jones, in the Asiatic Researches, vol. ii. p. 419.

⁺ See the Dissertation on the Persians, ibid. p. 43.

centre of all Asia, under the title of the Ma-habadian dynasty, founded by the renowned Maha-Beli, or Great Belus, and from which they afterwards migrated to regions nearer the rising sun. This great extent in ancient periods of the Indian empire, and the prevalence of the Indian sciences and mythology over the greater part of that vast continent, cannot be more decisively proved than by the following remarks extracted from Mr. Halhed, to whom those sciences and that mythology, as well as their languages, are so familiarly known.

It is a very generally received maxim, that the wide diffusion of any particular language evinces the superiority in power and consequence of the nation with whom that language originated. Now Mr. Halhed afferts the Sanscreet, or ancient language of India, generally spoken before the invasion of Alexander, to be a language of the most venerable and profound antiquity; the grand fource as well as facred repository of Indian literature. and the parent of almost every dialect, from the Persian Gulph to the China Sea. He is even of opinion, that the Sanscreet was, in ancient periods, current not only over ALL INDIA, confidered in its largest extent, but over

traces of its original and general diffusion may still be discovered in almost every region of Asia. In the course of Mr. Halhed's various reading, (and few men have perused more Oriental volumes,) he was astonished to find the similitude which it in many instances bore to the Chaldaic, Persian, and Arabic. He discovered the visible traces of its character, that character which he describes to be so curious in its structure and so wonderful in its combination, on the most ancient medals and imperial signets of Eastern kingdoms; and he hints that it might have been the original language of the earth.*

If the bounds of ancient India were thus large, not less so were those of ancient Scythia, for they extended from Caucasus to the borders of the Arctic circle, a tract including the vast plains of Tartary, the deserts of Siberia, and Asiatic Russia: yet through all this immense region no genuine vestiges of arts and sciences slourishing among them are clearly to be traced, notwithstanding the boasted

B 4 discoveries

[•] See the very elegant and learned preface to that Grammar, P.5.

discoveries of some eminent modern antiquaries. Among these, stands foremost the celebrated M. Bailli, who endeavours to prove, in a treatise On the Origin of the Sciences in Asia, that a nation of profound wisdom, of elevated genius, and of antiquity far superior even to the Egyptians, Indians, and Chinese, once inhabited the deserts of Siberia, and from the cold and barren region of SELINGINSKOI, in the fiftieth degree of north latitude, propagated throughout the world the first rudiments of the sciences, particularly astronomy. He labours to demonstrate that some celebrated discoveries in astronomy could only have taken place in the high northern latitudes of Asia; that most of the ancient mythologic fables of Asia, considered in a physical sense, have relation to the northern parts of our globe; and that arts and improvement progreffively travelled from the polar regions to those of the equator. This learned primitive, but long-extinct, race of Scythian philofophers, for whose existence neither history nor tradition, but certain fanciful conjectures of the author, are alone brought in evidence, M. Bailli supposes to have been the masters of the Brahmins of India, but certainly erroneoully;

neously; for their known pride and self-importance would never permit them to submit to be taught by the fages of any nation; much less by a race of men, whom they ever confidered as barbarians, and inhabiting what they thought the extremities of the world. From these positive and dogmatical affertions of Bailli, let us attend a better judge of the matter, Sir W. Jones, who, in his differtation upon the ancient hordes that peopled the vast extent of northern Asia, describes them in general as a race of undisciplined savages, without the polish of arts, and without even the advantage of letters. As the subject has been little canvassed, and never before in so masterly and decided a manner, the reader will be eafily induced to pardon my presenting him with the substance of what he has said on this point in his Essay on the Tartars.

"TARTARY, which contained, according to PLINY, an innumerable multitude of nations, by whom the rest of Asia and all Europe has, in different ages, been over-run, is denominated, as various images have presented themselves to various fancies, the great hive of the northern swarms, the nursery of irresistible legions, and, by a stronger metaphor, the foundery

foundery of the human race; but M. BAILLI, a wonderfully ingenious man, and a very lively writer, seems first to have considered it as the cradle of our species, and to have supported an opinion, that the whole ancient world was enlightened by sciences brought from the most northern parts of Scythia, particularly from the banks of the Jenisea, or from the Hyperborean regions: all the fables of old Greece, Italy, Persia, India, he derives from the north; and it must be owned, that he maintains his paradox with acuteness and learning. Great learning and great acuteness, together with the charms of a most engaging style, were indeed necessary to render even tolerable a fystem which places an earthly paradife, the gardens of Hesperus, the islands of the Macares, the groves of Elysium, if not of Eden, the heaven of INDRA, the Peristan, or fairy-land, of the Persian poets, with its city of diamonds and its country of Shadcam, fo named from Pleasure and Love, not in any climate which the common sense of mankind confiders as the feat of delights, but beyond the mouth of the Oby in the Frozen Sea, in a region equalled only by that, where the wild imagination of DANTE led him to fix the worst

worst of criminals in a state of punishment after death, and of which he could not, he says, even think without shivering.

"In truth, our first inquiry, concerning the languages and letters of the Tartars, prefents us with a deplorable void, or with a prospect as barren and dreary as that of their deserts. The Tartars had no literature; (in this point all authorities appear to concur;) the Turks had no letters; the Huns, according to Procopius, had not ever and of them: the magnificent CHENGIZ, whose empire included an area of near eighty square degrees, could find none of his own Mongals, as the best authors inform us, able to write his dispatches; and TAIMUR, a favage of strong natural parts, and paffionately fond of hearing histories read to him, could himself neither write nor read.

"Of any philosophy, except natural ethics, which the rudest society requires and experience teaches, we find no more vestiges in Asiatic Tartary and Scythia, than in ancient Arabia; nor would the name of a philosopher and a Scythian have been ever connected, if Anacharsis had not visited Athens and Lydia for that instruction which his birth-place could

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could not have afforded him. But ANACHARsis was the fon of a Grecian woman, who had
taught him her language, and he foon learned
to despise his own. He was unquestionably a
man of a sound understanding and fine parts;
and among the lively sayings which gained
him the reputation of a wit even in Greece, it
is related by Diogenes Laertius, that when
an Athenian reproached him with being a
scythian, he answered, 'My country is indeed
a disgrace to me, but thou art a disgrace to
thy country.'

"Had the religious opinions and allegorical fables of the Hindoos, as M. Bailli, and after him M. D'Ancarville and others, have afferted, been actually borrowed from Scythia, travellers must have discovered in that country some ancient monuments of them, such as pieces of grotesque sculpture, images of the Gods and Avatars, and inscriptions on pillars or in caverns, analogous to those which remain in every part of the western peninsula, or to those which many of us have seen in Bahar and at Banaras; but (except a few detached idols) the only great monuments of Tartarian antiquity are a line of ramparts on the west and east of the Caspian, ascribed indeed

by ignorant Muselmans to Yajuj and Majuj, or Gog and Magog, that is to the Scythians, but manifestly raised by a very different nation, in order to stop their predatory inroads through the passes of Caucasus.

" From ancient monuments, therefore, we have no proof that the Tartars were themselves well instructed, much less that they instructed the world; nor have we any stronger reason to conclude, from their general manners and character, that they had made an early proficiency in arts and sciences: even of poetry, the most universal and most natural of the fine arts, we find no genuine specimens ascribed to them, except some horrible warfongs, expressed in Persian by ALI of YEZD, and possibly invented by him. After the conquest of Persia by the Mongals, their princes, indeed, encouraged learning, and even made astronomical observations at Samarkand; and, like the Turks, became polished by mixing with the Perfians and Arabs, though their very nature, as one of their own writers confesses, had before been like an incurable distemper, and their minds clouded with ignorance. Thus also the Mancheu monarchs of China have been patrons of the learned and ingeni-

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ous; and the Emperor Tienlong is, if he be now living, a fine Chinese poet. In all these instances the Tartars have resembled the Romans; who, before they had subdued Greece, were little better than tigers in war, and fauns or sylvans in science and art."—Sir W. Jones's Essay on the Tartars, in Asiatic Researches, vol. ii. p. 223.

Thus far Sir W. Jones, who investigated this argument of M. Bailli in a region of Asia not very remote from the ancient residence of the vaunted race who were the objects of his panegyric. In truth, the people, to whom M. Bailli's description is most applicable, are the northern progeny of Brahmins settled near the Caucasus, and in Thibet, where very celebrated colleges of learned Indians were anciently established, particularly at Naugracut and Cashmere; in which latter region it is supposed very confiderable treasures of ancient Sanscreet literature are deposited, which have not yet been examined. Indeed, in express confirmation that the Brahmins, and confequently the sciences of India, have not always flourished in a situation so immediately fouthern, as of late æras they have chosen, I am able, upon the high authority of Mr. Hastings.

Hastings, to assert that an immemorial tradition prevails at Benares, that they originally came from a region situated in forty degrees of northern latitude.

In addition to the affertion of Sir W. Jones, cited above, that the ancient inhabitants of Scythia were little better than favages, without science and without even the advantage of written language, though the dialects spoken among them were almost as numerous as their tribes, we are favoured with the following important intelligence, so directly elucidatory as well as corroborative of the hypothesis on which this Differtation is founded. After acquainting us that the character of Tibet is evidently Indian, and that the Brahmin religion has immemorially flourished in that region, he afferts that the priests of Buddha have been found settled even in Siberia, (of which indeed the famous medal found amidst the ruins of a Siberian temple, and engraved in the fifth volume of Indian Antiquities, is an unequivocal proof,) and that rolls of Thibetian (that is, Indian) writing have been brought even from the borders of the Admitting that these priests of Caspian. Buddha, using the Indian letters and versed in the the facred and civil institutes of Brahma, had travelled thus far, it cannot be thought improbable that, with the colonies which emigrated from northern Asia into the west, many of these priests might have mingled, and thus wasted into Europe, much of the theology, jurisprudence, and manners, of the Indian nation. But the hypothesis for which I contend in reality rests upon a sirmer basis than probable conjecture; and the series of historical evidence by which it is supported shall be progressively detailed.

Before we proceed farther, however, in this investigation, it is necessary that we should attend to the history and situation of their Celtic brethren, for they were equally descendants of Gomer, the great progenitor of this northern race; and as, in a Dissertation like the present, nice disquisitions concerning the subordinate divisions of that primæval tribe are out of the question, or, at least, are of no immediate importance in the survey of the very early periods to which I allude, I shall consider them all as one great family; and, with Strabo, apply the general name of Scythians and Celto-Scythians to the first colonies who emigrated from Asia into Europe.

It is sufficient for me to admit, in this place; that the Celts were the elder branch of that family. The difference contended for seems principally to arise from their situation, which was more remote from the central spot whence the whole renovated race of man diverged in various directions.

That central spot was, doubtless, the great Tauric range round whose stupendous eminencies it was natural for a race, recently escaped from the horrors of a general inundation, to plant themselves. While the progeny of Shem gradually diffused themselves thence over the warm fouthern regions of Asia, and one mighty branch of the family of Ham emigrated to Africa, the descendants of Japhet directed their course northwards, branching out widely, at the same time, towards the East and West quarters of that northern district. The promise made to Japhet was, that his borders should be enlarged, and the isles of the Gentiles, by which the commentators generally understand Europe, be divided among his posterity. In consequence, it may be supposed, and history afferts, that their numbers multiplied in a far greater proportion than their brethren. In the course of their national VOL. VI. increase.

increase, straitened for room and distressed by want of pasturage for the immense flocks necessary for their support, this elder and nobler branch of the Japhetic tribe moved still farther and farther off from the neighbourhood of the Caucasus, and gradually peopled, first the whole north of Asia, and then Europe, where they gradually established themselves from the banks of the Danube to the pillars of Hercules; that is, of their first conductor, whofoever he was, to the celebrated Straits, thus denominated. The exact period in which the Scythian Nomades began thus to move forward from the mountains to the north of Persia and India, it is scarcely possible to ascertain with precision, but we may, without any violation of probability, allow it to have taken place a century after the dispersion from Babel; by which time, it may be supposed, the pure patriarchal worship became deeply polluted by the introduction of multifold idolatry, and that astronomy, which, we learn from Calisthenes, began to be formed into a system at Babylon 1903 years before its capture by Alexander, had extensively introduced into the theological rites of Asia the splendid Sabian Sabian superstition, or worship of the host of Heaven.

That the British isles were in reality first peopled by those Gomerian, or Celtic, tribes, which, in the very early ages after the difperfion, spread themselves through Europe, is not only evident from the most authentic hiftory of those tribes extant, but from the very strong affinity in manners, language, and religious rites, existing between that northern nation and the ancient inhabitants of this country. The subject of the striking similitude apparent in their ancient customs and religious ceremonies shall hereafter be discussed at large. In regard to fimilarity of language, I must observe, that the very name of their great ancestor, variously changed into Comarian, Cimmerian, Cymbrian, or Cumbrian, is to be traced wherefoever that colony passed, along the whole line of their descent from the regions of the Northern Asia; even from the Cymbrian Chersonese to the loftiest of our Cumbrian mountains. The towering pens, or heads, of the Welch mountains, not less than the mighty Appenines of the continent, proclaim this truth; and the Alps and Albion alike prove themselves to be thus denominated C₂ from

from the Celtic Alp, or Alb, fignifying white, in allusion to the eternal snows on the summit of the former, and the white cliffs that encompass the latter. Indeed, as we advance in this Differtation, no inconfiderable testimony will be found to arise, from the survey, of the derivation of all languages from one primæval tongue, as well as of all nations from one great family. The monumental remains connected with the most ancient system of Afiatic mythology, yet existing in the two countries under confideration, and the intimate mixture in both languages of terms radically Hebrew, added to the circumstance of traditions in both countries uniformly pointing to one great founder, who flourished between four and five thousand years ago, will, of themselves, go far towards proving these asfertions concerning their identity, and their having originated from one common stock.

A celebrated grammariam has remarked, Nec modo Indicam, Perficam, Syram, Arabicam, Hebræ junctissimas linguas; sed et Gothicam, seu Celticam, linguam;* and Rowland, in his Mona, afferts, that no less than three hundred Hebrew radices are to be found in the

British

^{*} Franciscus Junius Præfat. Grammat. p. 19.

British tongue alone.* From his list I shall select a few only which must carry conviction of their primæval derivation. For instance, who can doubt of the British word Booth, a cottage, being derived from the Hebrew BETH, a bouse; the earth, from ERETZ; to babble, from BABEL, alluding to the confusion of tongues; Cist, from Cis, a cheft; DAGGAR, from DAKAR, a short sword; the British KERN, or Corn, a born, from Keren; Cromlech, a facrificial stone of the Druids, from CEREM-LUACH, a burning stone; and SARPH, an old British word for serpent, from the Hebrew SARAPH. These, and a great variety of other terms, there enumerated, though coming to us more immediately through a Celtic or Gaulic medium, it is impossible to deny, must have a radical connection with the sacred dialect.

Of the preceding affertion made by the grammarian Junius, viz. that of Hebrew, or the old Syrian, being radically interwoven in all the Eastern tongues, very decided and numerous instances may be found, so far as regards the Persians and Arabians, in Walton's Preface to his Polygott, and so far as the

C 3 Phoenicians

^{*} See Rowland's Mona Antiqua, p. 278.

Phænicians and their Assyrian neighbours are concerned throughout the whole of Bochart's Phaleg. With respect to the Indian or Sanfcreet language, though hitherto very little investigated, we find the traces of it in the very name of their first grand deity Brahma, the Creator, which is, doubtless, connected with, if not immediately derived from, the Hebrew Bra, or Bara, created, occurring in the first verse of Genesis. BERESCHITH BRA ELOHIM, In the beginning God created. Also in their great divinity, Isa, the goddess Nature personified, we find the Hebrew Ichsa, the first existent, or grand parent, which the Rabbins affert to have been the original name of Eve, the great mother of mankind, and, probably, the genuine Isis of the Egyptians; at least such is Stillingfleet's very rational conjecture.* Surya, the Sun, that object of supreme reverence in India, has probably very near affinity to the Suria of the Chaldaic, a language which some eminent critics conceive to be the most ancient dialect of the Hebrews: and when it is confidered, that in Suria, or Syria, was first practised the Sabian superstition; that the Egyptians, according to Eufe-

bius,

^{*} See Stillingsleet's Origines Sacræ, p. 551.

bius, called Osiris, Surius; and that, in Perfia, Sure was the old name of the Sun; the supposition may be thought to approach near upon certainty.

The Hebrew word RACHAV, great and powerful, may be radically connected with the San-screet Rajab. In Celtic, Orch, Arch, and Rich, derived from the same root, are used as initials or terminations to names of distinguished eminence; and here we find the probable etymon of the Greek terms $\alpha \rho \chi \eta$ and $\alpha \rho \chi \omega \nu$, chief or governor We are certain, however, that the ancient name of that race of kings, written in Sanscreet Roy, bears as near affinity to the Gaulic Roi, as that of Ranna, a race of Indian queens, to the Spanish Renna, and the Gaulic Rein; both used in exactly the same signification, though in countries so extremely remote from each other.

It is remarkable, that the Sanscreet word GATE, or GAUT, a barrier or passage, is to be found in the same sense in Ramsgate as in Balagate, and the most natural derivation I know for the word Age, is the Sanscreet Yug, or Period.

The term Div, in Welch, God, and in Cornish, Div, is the very same word used in C 4 India

India for the celestial deities, who are called Dives and Devatas; and the reader's surprize will, perhaps, be not a little excited, when I inform him that Colonel Vallancey, well known for his refearches into old Irish literature, told Sir William Jones, that Crishna, the name of the Indian Apollo, is actually an old Irish word for the Sun.* It will not less excite that furprize to hear, that, according to Dr. Parsons, in his Remains of Japhet,+ Colonel Grant was enabled, folely by his knowledge of the old Irish language, to decipher the Thibetian characters on the Siberian medal above alluded to, and the explanation of which was given in the Indian Antiquities.

Baal, or Bel, seems to have been equally known as an appellative of the Sun in Britain as in Asia; for Toland, in his History of the Druids, (and the fact has been since confirmed to me by intelligent natives, as well of South as North Britain,) tells us, that the fires which slamed on May-eve at the top of the ancient Carns, or Druid-heaps of stone, in

honour

^{*} Consult Asiatic Researches, vol. i. p. 262.

⁺ See Parsons's Remains of Japhet, p. 186.

honour of the Sun, were called BEALTINE, or the fires of Belus.* The term DRUID itfelf is, doubtless, derived from the Celtic Dru. or Deru, an oak; and it is remarkable, that, in Welch, Deruen and Derwen still preserve the same signification. These particular appellations immediately direct our attention to the Sanscreet name of the old Brahmins, of the forest of Gandharvas, which occurs fo often in the Sacontala. "Who, like the choleric Dervasas, has power to confume, like raging fire, whatever offends him?" The Dervish of the East, therefore, and the Druid of the West, are the same character, under names but little varied. Indeed Keysler expressly affirms this; Sacerdotum genus apud Turcas ab antiquissimis temporibus conservatum Dervis, et nomine et re DRUIDIS.+

The Auruna, also, or day-star of the Indians, like the god Horus, or light personified of the Egyptians, may be without violence derived from the Hebrew Aur, lux, or, if the reader pleases, from or, gold. Adam, the great progenitor of mankind, in Sir William Jones's

opinion,

^{*} Toland's History of the Druids, p. 67.

[†] Keysler's Antiquit. Septentrion. p. 36.

opinion, may be found in the Sanscreet Adim, the first; and Nuh, or Noah, is plainly recognized in their celebrated Menu, who, after the flood, repeopled the renovated world. In fact, the name and history of Noah and of his three fons are precifely the same in the Sanfcreet as the Hebrew Bible. In the ancient geographical records of India, we find the whole country denominated after Cush, the eldest son of Ham, its domestic appellation being Cusha-Dweepa, and we know that the inhabitants of the northern district were anciently called Cuthæi. We find again Raamah, the fourth fon of that Cush, in the Indian Rama, renowned first as a conqueror, and afterwards as a god, throughout the whole extent of that vast region; and we discover his last fon Nimrod, or Belus, in their Bali, the Baal and Bel of their neighbours. A very great variety of fimilar instances, not only in the way of striking etymological deduction, but of direct identity in person and character, between the ancient heroes of these respective nations, will hereafter be noticed by me, if not in these pages, at least in the greater historical work, which these various Differtations are intended to illustrate.

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At present, let us return to Britain, and confine our inquiry to the ancient name of these islands, a subject concerning which, two very celebrated writers, Camden and Bochart, have advanced very opposite opinions. Opposite, however, as these opinions apparently are, they may both have for their support a certain degree of truth.

Camden contends, that Britain was so called from brith, a Celtic word, fignifying painted; and tain, or tan, a region. If Camden be right in the former part of this affertion, in the preceding volumes of the Indian Antiquities sufficient evidence may be found that he is so as to the latter part of it. In the first, or geographical, Dissertation, in particular, I had occasion to remark, that, in Persian, istan, or stan, was the name of a land, or region, as for instance, in Chuzistan, the region of Cush; in Hindostan, the region of the Hindoos; in Multan, or Mallitan, a province on the Indus, and meaning the country anciently possessed by the Malli. This term, therefore, of Persian original, was brought by the Celtic colonies into these western regions, and thus Britain, according to this writer, is the country of the Brith, or painted poeple,

people, from which circumstance, probably, in succeeding times, the same nation came to be denominated by the Romans, who translated the term, Picti, the Picts, or painted people. - The learned Bochart, however, whose studies were directed to the investigation of Phænician Antiquities, with great ingenuity, and very confistently with the hypothesis laid down in his Phaleg, derives the name Britain from Baratanac, the land of tin; and as that was a commodity for which these islands were celebrated in the Afiatic world, it is by no means improbable, that the Phænicians, who traded to this part of the world to obtain it, knew the island by that name. The Greeks afterwards, treading in the commercial steps of that industrious and adventurous race, called it after them Beeraving, whence Britain. It is natural to suppose, that the production for which an illand was famous should give its name to the country that produced it, especially among a nation devoted to commerce, and who probably knew nothing of the people, or the island beyond the coast where the mines were wrought, or the provinces immediately adjoining. The Romans, whose aim in failing hither was conquest rather than commerce, principally

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principally attended to the people, and imposed a name somewhat conformable to their national habits, and adapted to display their ruling propensity.

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SECTION II.

One great Tribe of the ancient Indian Nation, being the immediate Progeny of Cush, was called Cuthæi, and their Descendants brought into Britain the Cuthite Superstitions. — A brief Summary of those Superstitions as anciently practifed in the British Isles. - Those Superstitions exhibit many evident Remains of the pure patriarchal Theology, blended with the Corruptions of the Sabian Idolatry. - A more particular Account of the Indian God Buddha, the Hermes of Egypt, and the Mercury of the West. — The Assyrian and Indian Belus the true Hercules of Antiquity, and the God Belen of the Druids proved to be so by their BEAL-TINE, or Fires lighted in Honour of Baal. -Various Eastern characteristic Designations and Symbols of Mercury, discovered in Britain. — The

The Woden's Day, or Dies Mercurii, of the Northern and Western Nations, the Dies Boodh of India. — Cubical Statues and Mercurial Heaps. — The letter Thau. — The Harp of the Druids. — The Lyre of Hermes, &c. &c. — The First of April, an ancient Indian Festival. — The First of May, or the Day on which the Sun enters the Bull, an ancient Phallic Festival immemorially preserved in the East. — Relics of these Festivals, and the Sports practised on them, still preserved in Britain. — An extensive Parallel drawn between the religious Rites and civil Customs anciently prevalent in India, Britain, and the Northern Empires of Europe.

FTER the general introductory remarks in the preceding section, connected with etymology and history, we are now about to enter on the investigation of more important points, and to consider the REMAINS OF THE CUTHITE, OR ANCIENT INDIAN, WORSHIP IN THE BRITISH ISLANDS.

I

I have before observed, that a part of the Indian nation were anciently called Cuthæi, a name affuredly derived from their great angeltor Cuth, or Cush; afterwards they were called Cutheri; and the present Kuttry tribe, one of the four great casts into which the nation was divided, are probably their immediate descendants. It has also been observed, that the residence of the Cuthæi was in the high northern latitudes of India, where, in fact, Alexander found them; and it is probable they had wandered, as is usual with infant colonies, from the cold and bleak regions in the immediate neighbourhood of the Caucasus, to the warm and genial provinces lying nearer the fouthern tropic. I have given a glimpse of the manners of the gloomy Cuthite worship, in which the ancient Indians were immersed. I have shewn that they delighted in the deep shade of trees of gigantic growth; rocks of immense magnitude; caverns of the profoundest depth; altars eternally smoaking with the blood of men and beafts, poured out in barbarous facrifice to the evil dæmon; that in their facred ceremonies they used an infinite number of confecrated grasses, cautiously gathered under the benign aspect of some parti-Vol. VI. cular

cular planet, with more especial reference to that of the filver empress of the night; that their ablutions were innumerable; that they were conversant with the most dreadful rites of magic, devoting their enemies to destruction with tremendous imprecations; that they believed in the transmigration of the human foul; and were absorbed in astronomical spe-In addition culations and physical researches. to these considerations, when we advert to the universal veneration for serpents in India, so congenial with the superstitious reverence entertained by the Druids for the Anguinum, or ferpent's egg; when we recollect the facred staff constantly borne by the Brahmins, so similar to the confecrated wand, or magic rod, of the Druids: their veneration for the chaera, wheel, or circle, which constantly adorns the hand of Brahma, and was with the Druids also an emblem of eternity; the solemn rites of initiation adopted equally in the caves of Elephanta, and the subterraneous recesses of Mona; the addiction of both to the folar worship, and their perpetual preservation of the facred fire in the depths of those caverns; and that, as the Brahmins were the first and most venerated tribe of India, so the Druids formed

formed the first order of nobility in Britain ; when we recollect the profound reverence of both for the white horse of sacrifice and the facred steer, that were never to bear harness or yoke; their devotion to vast pyramidal heaps of stones; and that the temples of India, at least those of the larger kind, are, for the most part, uncovered, like Stonehenge; that the priests of each nation were, during their solemn rites, arrayed in stoles of virgin white. and, alike, wore that lofty tiara, which may be seen on the head of the Persian Mithra. engraved in Hyde and Mountfaucon; when all these circumstances are attentively considered, it is impossible to doubt, that, at some remote period, the two orders were united, or, at least, were educated, in the same grand school with the magi of Persia and the seers of Babylon. Upon a few of the more prominent features just remarked, as having existed between the Brahmins and Druids, I shall prefently enter at confiderable length, occasionally citing, as I proceed, the ancient classical authors that treat concerning them, and those learned modern writers, whose indefatigable refearches have made us best acquainted with that wonderful and fecluded race of men.

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But let us here take a short retrospective view of the gradual lapse of mankind from the sublime purity of the primæval devotion into that abyss of idolatry in which a few centuries saw them plunged.

In the ages immediately succeeding the general deluge, the memory of that tremendous punishment inflicted for crimes committed in the ante-diluvian world, undoubtedly for a long time, kept the primitive race, who peopled Asia, steady to the principles and practice of the virtuous branches of the family of Noah. In the line of Shem and of Japhet, it seems to be universally confessed, by Jewish as well as Christian divines, that the doctrines of the true religion flourished unviolated till the ambitious Nimrod, or Belus, extending his dominion from Babylon through the neighbouring empires of Asia, introduced, with the arms of Affyria, the Sabian, or Chaldaic, superstition, and polluted the altars of the true God with the idolatrous fires that burned to the host of Heaven. At whatsoever period, however, superstition was first propagated, and debased them, it is a fact not to be controverted, that those grand and effential principia of all true religion, the immortality

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of the soul, and a firm belief in a supreme presiding Providence, formed the basis equally of the Brahmin and the Druid codes of theology. That they also believed in the doctrine of the defection of the human soul from a state of original rectitude, its regeneration by penance, and final happiness to be obtained by means of a mediator, is evinced beyond the possibility of doubt, by an attentive consideration of the religious rites and practices prevailing among them.

In respect to the first of these propositions, a fupreme Deity and governing Providence are necessarily supposed in the very formation of every religious institution. As to the second; their conviction of the immortality of the foul is proved, not only by their general belief in its transmigration, but in the eagerness, and often the criminal eagerness, with which they fought death; the release of that soul from the prison of the body. In regard to the third and fourth; their notion of its defection is proved by the unexampled severities of discipline and horrible penitentiary fufferings undergone by them: and their belief in the doctrine of a mediatorial intercession by the fuperstitious reverence paid by them to the D_3 Sun,

Sun, Moon, and other inferior deities, whom, like their Sabian brethren of the Greater Asia, they confidered in the light of mediators, to waft their prayers, and render them acceptable to the throne of divine mercy, as well as by their dreadful facrifices of human victims, in the imagined prospect of propitiating the vengeance of incensed Omnipotence. In these principles and in this conduct of the Druids we trace the evident remains of the two grand fystems of theology, the pure and the depraved, which prevailed in the first ages, and among the primitive race: the former inculcated by the virtuous father of the renovated world; the latter introduced by Belus, the impious parent of the Sabian herefy; the one a system of beneficence and mercy, the other a fystem of nefarious homicide. Men became more and more immersed in these superstitious and bloody practices, as the traces of the benevolent patriarchal religion were gradually effaced from their minds; and although the Brahmins, and their pupils, the Druids, while they practised the sanguinary rite, retained in memory some traits of their original reference, this feems by no means to have univerfally been the case. In general, the farther they removed

removed from the immediate spot on which the first great interesting scenes were transfacted, that is, Chaldae, the theatre of renovated nature, the very occasion of these barbarous institutions intended to purify man and appease his Maker, was obliterated from their minds. They continued to practise them without knowing their allusion, and remained polluted with blood without even the consciousness of guilt, and without the prospect of redemption.

The most ancient Belus, above alluded to. whom Cicero calls Hercules-Belus, feems to have been the great progenitor of the royal Balic line, who established themselves in Assyria, Phænicia, and India, and of those colonies who, after their leader, were denominated by the Greeks Heraclidæ and Belidæ. To this great deified hero and our Celtic Mercury have been affigned, by the ancients, all those renowned exploits which form the most brilliant annals of the infant world, and swell the volume of its early history. They were the indefatigable explorers of the most distant regions of the habitable globe; they were the intrepid chieftains who led the fuccessive colonies that issued from the overcharged. D 4

charged plains of Mesopotamia to riches and to glory. Concerning each of these illustrious characters I shall have much hereafter to remark, but, with respect to Hercules-Belus, I think it proper, at this early period of the essay, to state, that to his comprehensive history and important character ought to be referred the far greater part of those heroic feats, that in such great profusion are heaped upon others who bear the distinguished name of Hercules. This Hercules, afterwards canonized and worshipped as the Sun, under the name of Baal, because probably he first instituted the folar worship in Asia, stands on record as the first great navigator to the shores of Europe, and had a splendid temple erected to him at the mouth of those straits, called from him the Pillars of Hercules, as being the limits of his travels to the West. There, in that temple of Gades, probably the first Asiatic superstitions were publicly performed in Europe, whence they would naturally become still farther diffused, as the Eastern colonies were themselves more dispersed over that continent and the isles adjoining. But from these general strictures on the character of Hercules and his worship, let us take a nearer retrospect of

of the fage and secluded inhabitants of the groves of Mona.

The Druids are, by Pliny and other writers, afferted to have derived their name from dous, an oak; but, as the order probably existed prior to the Greek term, and as it is not easy to conceive whence the Druids in their caverns should have learned to talk Greek, it is safer to derive it, as before intimated, from DRU, or DERU, an old Celtic word of the same signification, whence, it is likely, the Greek was formed.

Strabo distinguishes this venerable tribe of philosophers into three classes; Bagdos, bards, Ovates, strictly priests, and Agusdas, properly the sacrificers under oaks.* Cæsar, in his sixth book de Bello Gallico, has discoursed largely concerning these holy hermits and their religious institutions. The whole of his account is too long for insertion in these pages; but it is very remarkable that he derives the Druids of Gaul from Britain, whereas the more general opinion among antiquaries is, that the Druids of Britain were a colony from Gaul. Among other points of doctrine peculiar to them, he enumerates their belief in and

• Strabo, lib. iv. p. 189.

inculcation

inculcation of the immortality of the foul, and its fuccessive transmigrations through various bodies; their mysterious magical rites; their theories of the heavens, and the motions of the stars; their knowledge of the magnitude of the earth, and their profound speculations in physics, in morals, and in thelogy. When it is considered that all this accumulation of science was confined to one order, or sect, of a nation, involved otherwise in the profoundest ignorance and barbarity, there arises still more abundant reason to suppose that science of exotic growth and that order of foreign original.

Dr. Borlase, author of the History and Antiquities of Cornwall, has devoted a chapter of that learned work to the consideration of the circumstances so remarkably similar between the religious rites of the British Druids and the old Persians. As, however, in the former part of the Indian Theology, I have entered at great length into the subject of the Persian worship, and have already proved the near affinity which the Persian religion, in many of its grand and leading points, bore to that established in India,

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^{*} Czefar's Comment. lib. iv. cap. 13.

and as we have learned from Sir W. Jones, not only that a race of Brahmins anciently fate on the throne of Persia, but that nine words out of ten of the old Pahlavi dialect are genuine Sanscreet; I conceive that every fresh proof adduced by Dr. Borlase, of the striking similitude in the religious doctrines and ceremonies of these distant tribes of philesophers, is an additional corroboration of the hypothesis, which afferts them to be of the ancient school of the venerable Brachmans, and of the fect of the elder Buddha, because they venerated Mercury, and Buddha is the Indian Mercury, honoured with the same rites, and decorated with the same symbols.

Various writers also on British antiquities have judged, from a partial examination of the Phænician mythology, that the whole of the Asiatic superstitions imported into Britain were brought into this country by a Phænician colony; but this decision, though partly just, because colonies did undoubtedly in very early ages migrate hither from Tyre, with possibly a chief assuming the name of Hercules for their conductor, since Hercules was the grand agent of antiquity on all these occasions,

occasions, is not true in the extent contended for. It will be recollected, that, at the remote period at which I suppose the first colonies to have moved off from the great Tauric range, the whole mass of Eastern superstitions was concentrated in Assyria, and that the Phænician religion, as well those parts of it which were of a purer nature as those which were corrupted by the prevailing Sabian idolatry, was, with exception to a few local divinities, and peculiar rites afterwards adopted in Phænicia, the established religion of the higher Asia and the Brachmans.

Of a great and comprehensive argument, it is impossible, consistently with propriety in a mere Dissertation, to unfold more than a few leading traits; and those I shall devolve in as much order as the investigation of a subject so remote, and, in its nature, desultory, will allow of. There are few facts in ancient history which can be so clearly proved, as that the god Buddha, or Boodh, of the Indians, was the Oden, or Woden, of the northern nations. The first proof of it is, that very curious circumstance with which the acquaintance of Mr. Halhed with the Sanscreet language enabled him first to make his countrymen

men acquainted; that the days of the week, in India, are named after the same planets to which they were affigned by the Greeks and Romans; and that Boodh war, or Dies Boodh, is that fourth day of the week, which, in our language, derived from the Celtic and Getic, is denominated Woden Dies, that is, Oden's, or Woden's, Day, corruptly pronounced Wednesday. The period in which the Indian Boodh flourished, which was in the earliest post-diluvian ages, as well as his planetary defignation, and the astronomical symbols with which he is adorned, evince him to be the same identical person as the Taut of Phænicia, whom all antiquity, not dreaming of an Indian Boodh, with united voice, allows to have originally migrated from Phœnicia, and to have settled in Upper Egypt. Taut, in truth, was no other than the elder Hermes, or god Anubis, of that country; and it was this exotic god-king, as I have elsewhere endeavoured to make fully evident, who caused that most ancient and sublime symbol of the Tri-une Deity, the WING, the GLOBE, and the SER-PENT, to be exalted on the lofty portals of all the Egyptian temples, as an eternal memento to revolving ages, that fuch a patriarchal

chal notion of a distinction in the divine nature did actually exist; and, where it now stands, as may be seen in the correct and beautiful engravings of Pococke and Norden, many of them copied into the preceding volumes of Indian Antiquities. It was also this identical Taut, who, under that other name of Hermes, instructed the Egyptians in the elements of astronomy, music, and letters; and who, borrowed from the mythology of those nations, under the later name of Mercury, was venerated by the Greeks and Romans as the God of Eloquence and Commerce. That in the mythologies of Asia there should have been two Boodhs and two Hermes will not appear strange to those readers who may reflect on the general prevalence in the ancient world of the doctrine of divine and successive emanations. Each was worshipped as a deity, and each decorated with fimilar illustrative infignia: for, it was the uniform system of the ancients, when they exalted to divine honours some distinguished mortal, to invest the deified person with the fymbols of the virtues and the sciences for which he was, when living, most celebrated; while, in a constant contemplation

tion of the allegorical and spiritualized character, they forgot, by degrees, his terrestial origin. Thus Hermes, having taught the Egyptians music, they gave him a testudo, or lyre, a fymbol for ever occurring in the caverns of the Thebais: that testudo afterwards exalted to the skies for one emblem; while, for another, they gave him wings, and called him the Messenger of the Gods, either alluding to the rapid revolution of the planet that bore his name, or because, as an astronomer. he had explored the heavens, and revealed to man the fecrets of the sky. In fact, Taut, Buddha, and Hermes, are only the varied appellations of some distinguished character, the immediate descendant of Noah, who earliest cultivated the arts reviving after the deluge, and who, leading colonies to distant regions, diffused the light of science over the renovated globe. To this illustrious character, as was before observed in the case of the Asfyrian or Hercules Belus, the founder of the race of the Heraclidæ and the Belidæ, the several branches of the patriarchal family laid claim as a common ancestor: assumed his name as the chieftain of their tribe, regarded him as their tutelary genius, and, in the respective.

fpective systems of mythology instituted among them in succeeding ages, adored him as a divinity.

If the reader should be of opinion, that the very remarkable circumstance, of the same planetary deity giving name to the same day of the week in India and Britain, will not prove the absolute identity of Boodh, of Woden, of Taut, and of Hermes, let us go from Britain to Gaul, where another branch of the great Celtic family fettled, for corroborative evidence of that identity, and we shall find, in the appellation of one of their chief deities, the very title of the Phænician and Egyptian god. The name of Thoth and Taut is found very little disguised in Theutates, though I own the benign character of the Indian Boodh, who forbade buman facrifices, is not fo very apparent in that line of Lucan's Pharfalia.

THEUTATES." Lib. I. v. 439.

The circumstance, however, of the Indian god's forbidding these cruel sacrifices, is a proof of their existence in the early period of his reign; and one or both of the subjoined arguments

arguments may be reasonably urged as a palliative for the continuance of a part of his votaries in these nefarious rites, either, in the first place, that they migrated before the order for their suppression was publicly promulged; or, in the fecond, that the native Scythian ferocity, not being entirely subdued by their commerce with the Brahmins and the gentler laws of the mild Veeshnu, obstinately continued to practife a rite so congenial to the original bent of a martial and sanguinary dispo-If after this any doubt should remain in the reader's mind concerning the identity of the deity, let him advert to the symbols which he bore, the mode by which the Druids represented him, and to that peculiar allegorical delineation of the doctrines which he taught the Oriental world in the figure of the ORB, SERPENT, and WINGS, which is engraved in not less conspicuous characters on the extenfive plains of Abury, in Wiltshire, than in the Thebais of ancient Egypt.

Cæsar expressly says, that the Druids worshipped Mercury, and he doubtless afferted
this from having observed in Britain the usual
symbols with which Mercury was decorated at
Rome, the winged rod with the serpents
Vol. VI. E twined

twined around it. But there was another mode of representing Hermes among the Asiatics, which was equally customary among the Druids; and it is a circumstance of no small moment in this argument. It was by a statue called Herma, which was a fort of square or cubical figure of marble, or brass, without arms or legs to complete the fimilitude of either human or celestial being. These cubical statues were placed in the vestibules of their temples, and were intended as expressive emblems of the God of Eloquence and Truth, fince they were polished squares, on every side equal, which way foever they were turned. Pausanias tells us, that the inhabitants of Phares, in Achaia, round the statue of their principal divinity Mercury, erected, in the forum of that city, thirty cubics of polished marble, in honour of that deity, whose symbol was a cube:* and Dr. Borlase, speaking of the veneration of the Druids for the cube, observes, "A cubic was their symbol for Mercury, who, as the Messenger of the Gods, was esteemed the index, or symbol, of TRUTH, always like to itself, as it is with a CUBE.+"

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Pausanias in Achaicis, lib. vii. cap. 22.

⁺ Borlase's Antiquities of Cornwall, p. 82.

There was another very remarkable symbol of Taut, or Mercury, prevalent in Egypt a well as in India. It was the letter T, or, in other words, the cross, or crux Hermis, in which form we find many of the more ancient pagodas of India, as Benares and Mattra, erected; and many of the old Egyptian statues, as is well known to antiquaries, are represented bearing this symbol in their hand or on their D'Ancarville, and the generality of mythologists, explain this symbol as referring to the gross physical worship to which the ancients were fo greatly addicted, and as an emblem of Jupiter Generator, or the deity in his creative capacity, in ancient Egypt and India, and which Mr. Bruce frequently met with in his travels through the higher Egypt and Abyssinia. I have elsewhere observed the very fingular manner after which the Latin vulgate, and, according to Lowth, probably the ancient copies of the Septuagint, have rendered the original of that passage in Ezekiel ix. 4. I will fet a mark upon their forehead; rendering it in their version. I will mark them on the forehead with the letter TAU: which affords room to suppose it was a symbol of a more facred E 2 import

import than is generally imagined in the early patriarchal ages.

Now it is a fact not less remarkable than well attested, that the Druids in their groves were accustomed to select the most stately and beautiful tree as an emblem of the deity they adored; and, having cut off the fide branches, they affixed two of the largest of them to the highest part of the trunk, in such a manner as that those branches, extended on each fide like the arms of a man, together with the body, presented to the spectator the appearance of a huge cross; and on the bark, in various places, was actually inscribed the letter Thau. On the right arm was inscribed Hesus, (their Mars,) on the left Belenus, and on the middle of the trunk Tharanis.*

The testudo also, or lyre of Hermes, so congenial to the celebrated harp of the ancient Britains, that harp with which, Diodorus informs us, the Hyperboreans, in their island near Gaul, perpetually chaunted the praises of Apollo, in a magnificent temple of a circular

form,

^{*} Consult Borlaie, and the express authorities which he adduces for the truth of this curious fact, p. 108.

form, should not be forgotten in this review of the parallel characters and symbols of Herames and of Buddha.

- From the whole weight of evidence collected from the page of history, and from the united voice of tradition, acting together upon the mind of M. Le Clerc, one of the ablest mythologists that ever wrote, it was that writer's decided opinion, that the Theutates of the Gauls, the Hermes of the Greeks, and the Mercury of the Romans, was the same perfon with the Thoth, or Taut, of Egypt; but a review of peculiar fymbols and circumstances above enumerated, and more especially his name being affigned to the same day of the week in the astronomical system of all these respective nations, seems to place the fact beyond future dispute. Whosoever of the Noachidæ, the original prototypal character, of which these are the varied copy, might have been, his defignation in antiquity as the God of Merchants and Travellers points him out as the conductor of colonies to distant regions, and the founder of that commercial intercourse among men, which necessarily results from extending the line of civilized fociety. The E 3

The learned Bochart, in his Phaleg,* strongly contending that the Phœnician deity Hermes was no other than Canaan, the son of Ham, endeavours to prove this point from the very etymon of his name, for Cnaan, or Canaan, fignifies trader, which is the exact import of the Celtic Merc, or Mercator. He explains the wings generally drawn and sculptured on the head and feet of this Phœnician deity as allusive to the devotion of that people to navigation and commerce, and symbolical of the fails of those swift vessels that wasted them, in quest of tin, to the remote regions of the Cassiterides, on the coast of Britain. Founded. probably, on ancient traditions respecting his universal agency in the post-diluvian ages, was the pleasant Greek fable recorded by Lucian, in one of his dialogues, who describes this deity as having stolen the trident of Neptune, the arrows of Apollo, the fword of Mars, the forceps of Vulcan, and the girdle of Venus.+

Independently, however, of mythological fymbols and those religious rites, upon the discussion of which I shall enter at large in

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^{*} Phaleg, lib. i. cap. 2.

[†] See the Dialogue of Vulcan et Apollo.

the next section, the hypothesis for which I contend is farther confirmed by the very striking similitude of certain civil festive customs immemorially established in these islands to those at this day flourishing in the East; customs of which the antiquary has in vain endeavoured in Western climes to explore the origin or account for the institution.

THE FIRST OF APRIL, OR THE ANCIENT FEAST
OF THE VERNAL EQUINOX, EQUALLY OBSERVED IN INDIA AND BRITAIN.

THE first of April was anciently observed in Britain as a high and general festival, in which an unbounded hilarity reigned through every order of its inhabitants; for the sun at that period of the year entering into the sign Aries, the new year, and with it the season of rural sports and vernal delight, was then supposed to have commenced. The proof of the great antiquity of the observance of this annual sestival, as well as the probability of its original establishment in an Asiatic region, arises from the evidence of sacts afforded us by astronomy, which shall presently be adduced.

duced. Although the reformation of the year by the Julian and Gregorian calenders, and the adaptation of the period of its commencement to a different and far nobler system of theology, have occasioned the festival sports, anciently celebrated in this country on the first of April, to have long since ceased; and although the changes occasioned, during a long lapse of years, by the shifting of the equinoctial points, have in Asia itself been productive of important astronomical alterations as to the exact æra of the commencement of the year; yet on both continents some very remarkable traits of the jocundity, which then reigned, remain even to these distant times. Of those preserved in Britain, none of the least remarkable or ludicrous is that relic of its pristine pleasantry, the general practice of making APRIL FOOLS, as it is called, on the first day of that month; but this Colonel Pearce, in a paper published in the second volume of the Asiatic Researches, has proved to have been an immemorial custom among the Hindoos, at a celebrated festival holden about the same period in India, which is called the Huli festival. I shall insert the account in the Colonel's own words: "During the Huli, when

when mirth and festivity reign among Hindoos of every class, one subject of diversion is to fend people on errands and expeditions. that are to end in disappointment, and raise a laugh at the expense of the person sent. The Huli is always in March, and the last day is the general holiday. I have never yet heard any account of the origin of this English custom; but it is unquestionably very ancient, and is still kept up even in great towns, though less in them than in the country: with us, it is chiefly confined to the lower class of people, but in India high and low join in it, and the late Suraja Doulah, I am told, was very fond of making Huli fools, though he was a Mussulman of the highest rank. They carry the joke here so far, as to send letters making appointments, in the name of persons, who, it is known, must be absent from their house at the time fixed upon; and the laugh is always in proportion to the trouble given."*

The least inquiry into the ancient customs of Persia, or the minutest acquaintance with the general astronomical mythology of Asia, would have taught Colonel Pearce, that the boundless hilarity and jocund sports prevalent

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[·] Afiatic Researches, vol. ii. p. 334.

on the first day of April in England, and during the Hull sessival of India, have their origin in the ancient practice of celebrating with sessival rites the period of the vernal equinox, or the day when the new year of Persia anciently began. I have added, below, the order of the Indian months, as they are enumerated by Sir William Jones himself, in the Asiatic Researches, and have added the English names of our corresponding months, and translations of the Sanscreet appellations of the asterisms.

Aswin,	April; 7	Mesh,	Ram.
Carti,	May;	Vrish,	Bull.
Agrahayan,	June;	Mit'hun,	Twins.
Paush,	July;	Carcat,	Crab. 4
Magh,	August;	Sinh,	Lion.
P'halgun,	September;	Canya,	Virgin.
Chaitr,	October;	Tula,	Balance.
Vaisac'h,	November;	Vrischic,	Scorp. 8
Jaisht'h,	December ;7	Dhan,	Bow.
Ashar,	January;	Macar,	Capric.
Sravan,	February;	Cumbh,	Aquar.
Bhadr,	March;	Min,	Fish. 12

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The Indians now, indeed, begin their year on the eleventh of April, and the Persians have adopted, in their civil concerns, the Mohammedan mode of computation; both nations probably, in the remote ages to which we allude, began their year when the Sun entered into the fign Aries, and the ancient Persian coins stamped with the head of the Ram, which, according to D'Ancarville, were offered to Gemshid, the founder of Persepolis, and first reformer of the solar year among the Persians,* are an additional demonstration of the high antiquity of this festival. It is still observed, in that country, under the title of NAURAS, a word which means, the first day of the year; and in the " Ambassador's Travels," the writer acquaints us, that some of their body being deputed to congratulate the Shah, on the first day of the year, "they found him at the palace of Ispahan, sitting at a banquet, and having near him the MINATZIM, or Astrologer, who rose up ever and anon, and taking his aftrolobe, went to observe the fun; and, at the very moment of the fun's reaching the equator, he

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^{*} See D'Ancarville, vol. iii. p. 115; and Jones's Short History of Persia, p. 41.

published aloud the new year, the commencement of which was celebrated by the firing of great guns both from the castle and city walls, and by the sound of all kinds of instruments."*

The Persian and Tartar monarchs, sitting on the throne of India, still preserved inviolable a custom which probably had its origin when the first great dynasty of the Pishdadian line, of which Caiumeras was the head, extended their sway over the greater part of Asia, and we have astronomical proof, that the vernal equinox could not have co-incided with the first degree of Aries later, at least, than two thousand five hundred years before Christ, which might be the precise period when the first colonies began to migrate from Asia towards the west, and very much builds up the hypothesis for which I contend, of the English being derived from an Asiatie festival. That entertaining and judicious writer, Sir Thomas Roe, was ambassador from our Court to that of Delhi, when the Nauruz festival was celebrated there in 1616, and his account of it, as well as that of the cere-

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^{*} Ambassador's Travels, p. 220. Edit. folio, 1662.

mony of weighing the Mogul on his own birthday, are so curious, and the tract itself withal so scarce, that I shall be easily pardoned by my readers for presenting them with an authenticated account of the unequalled magnificence of a court, once the most splendid and powerful in Asia, but now utterly degraded, and its pomp extinguished. The festival at Delhi lasted nine days, and a kind of fair, like that holden at Venice during the carnival, and probably copied from this ancient Eastern kind of festival, during the extensive commercial intercourse formerly carried on between the Venetians and India, seems to have been the principal amusement.

"The Nauruz, in India, is kept in imitation of the Persian sessival of that name; and is celebrated after the following manner. A throne is erected four seet from the ground in the Durbar court; from the back whereof to the place where the king comes out, a square of sisty-six paces in length, and sorty-three in breadth, is railed in, and covered with fair canopies of cloth of gold, silk, or velvet, joined together, and held up with canes covered after the same manner. The ground is laid with good Persian carpets

very large, into which place come all the men of quality to attend the king, except fome few that are within a little rail right before the throne to receive his commands. this square there were set out, for shew, many little houses, one of them of silver, and some other curiofities of value. The prince-fultan had on the left fide a pavillion, the supporters whereof were covered with filver, as were fome of those also near the king's throne. The form of this throne was square, the matter, wood inlaid with mother-of-pearl, borne up with four pillars, and covered with cloth of gold. About the edge, over head, like a valence, was a net fringe of good pearl, from which hung down pomegranates, apples, pears, and fuch fruit of gold, but hollow. Within it, the king fat on cushions very rich in pearls and jewels. Round about the court before the throne, the principal men had erected tents, which encompassed the court, and lined them with velvet, damask, or taffety, for the most part, but some few with cloth of gold; into which they retired, and fat to shew all their wealth. For antiently the kings used to go to every tent, and take thence what they pleased; but now it is changed,

ged, the king sitting to receive what newyear's gifts are brought him."*

The new-born Sun, and the birth-day of the Persian monarch, the son of the Sun, and his representative on earth, were festivals attended with rites too similar not to be noticed in a work discussing the mythological antiquities of Asia. Nothing can be more brilliant, or more truly detailed, than that festival, as related by the same author. It may serve as an awful lesson to imperial pride: for the grandeur described and the dynasty itself are now annihilated.

"The fecond of September was the king's birth-day, and kept with great folemnity. On this day the king is weighed against jewels, gold, silver, stuffs of gold, silver, and many other rich and rare articles, of every sort a little, which is all given to the Brahmins. He was so splendid in jewels, that I own in my life I never saw such inestimable wealth together. The time was spent in bringing his greatest elephants before him; some of which, being lord-elephants, had their chains, bells, and surniture of gold and silver,

with

^{*} See Şir Thomas Roe'ş Journal apud Harris, vol. 1. p. 630.

with many gilt banners and flags carried about them, and eight or ten elephants waiting on each of them, clothed in gold, filk, and filver. In this manner about twelve companies passed by most richly adorned, the first having all the plates on his head and breast set with rubies and emeralds, being a beaft of wonderful bulk and beauty. They all bowed down before the king, making their reverence very handsomely: this was the finest shew of beasts I ever faw. The mogul himself was sitting cross-legged on a little throne, all covered with diamonds, pearls, and rubies. Before him a table of gold, and on it about fifty pieces of gold plate, all fet with jewels, some very great and extremely rich, some of them of less value, but all of them almost covered with small stones. His nobility about him in their best equipage, whom he commanded to drink merrily several forts of wine standing by in great flaggons. On a fudden the king rose, we retired to the Durbar, and fat on the carpets, attending his coming out. Not long after he came, and fat about half an hour, till his ladies at their door had mounted their elephants, which were about fifty, all of them richly adorned, but chiefly three with turrets

on their backs all enclosed with grates of gold wire to look through, and canopies over of cloth of filver. Then the king came down the stairs with such an acclamation of Health to the king! as would have out-roared cannon. At the foot of the stairs, where I met him. and shuffled to be next, one brought a mighty carp; another a dish of white stuff like starch. into which he put his finger, and touched the fish, and so rubbed it on his forehead; a ceremony used presaging good fortune. another came, and girt on his fword and hung on his buckler fet all over with diamonds and rubies, the belts of gold fuitable. Another hung on his quiver with thirty arrows, and his bow in a case, being the same that was presented by the Persian ambassador. On his head he wore a rich turban with a plume of herons' feathers, not many, but long. On one fide hung a ruby unfet, as big as a walnut; on the other fide a diamond as large; in the middle an emerald like a heart, much bigger. His staff was wound about with a chain of great pearl, rubies, and diamonds, drilled. About his neck he wore a chain of three strings of most excellent pearl, the largest I ever saw. Above his elbows, armlets . Vol. VI. fet

fet with diamonds, and on his wrist three rows of feveral forts; his hands bare, but almost on every finger a ring. His gloves, which were English, stuck under his girdle. coat of cloth of gold without fleeves, upon a fine semain, as thin as lawn. On his feet a pair of bulkins embroidered with pearl, the toes sharp and turning up. Thus armed and accounted he went to the coach that attended him, with his new English servant, who was clothed as rich as any player, and more gaudy, and had broke four horses, which were trapped and harneffed in gold velvets. This was the first coach he ever sat in, made by that fent out of England, fo like that I knew it not but by the cover, which was a Persian gold velvet. He sat at the end, and on each side went two eunuchs, who carried small maces of gold fet all over with rubies, with a long bunch of horse-tail to slap the flies away. Before him, went drums, base trumpets, and loud music, many canopies, umbrellas, and other strange ensigns of majesty, made of cloth of gold, fet in many places with rubies. Nine led horses, the furniture of some gar. nished with rubies, some with pearls and emerals, fome only with studs enamelled. The Persian Persian ambassador presented him with a horse. Next behind came three palankins, the carriages and feet of one plated with gold, fet at the ends with stones, and covered with crimson velvet embroidered with pearl, and a fringe of great pearl hanging in ropes a foot deep, a border about it set with rubies and emeralds. A footman carried a footstool of gold set with stones. The other two palankins were covered and fined only with cloth of gold. Next followed the English coach newly covered and richly adorned, which he had given to Queen Normaball, who fat in it. After them a third, in which fat his younger fons. Then followed about twenty elephants-royal, led for him to mount, fo rich in stones and furniture, that they glittered like the fun. Every elephant had fundry flags of cloth of filver, gilt fatin, and taffety."*

To return from this short digression to the symbols and monuments remaining in the East plainly allusive to this festival. It, doubtless, arose from this circumstance, that the ancient Egyptians, as Eusebius informs us, at Elephantine, worshipped the figure of a

[•] See Sir Thomas Roe's Journal, apud Harris, vol i. p, 644.

F 2 man

man painted blue, to mark his celestial origin, having the head of a ram, and the horns of a goat, which encompassed a disk, designating hereby the solar and lunar conjunction in the sign Aries. This, in fact, is the true Jupiter Ammon of antiquity, whose symbol was a ram; and he was thus portrayed on the Egyptian zodiac long before the Greeks arrogated to themselves the honour of being the inventors of the astronomical asterisms.

Dr. Stukely, in his Abury, p. 68, is of opinion, that the four folar ingresses into the cardinal points have been observed as the seasons of public sacrificing from the creation of the world; and, in reality, history acquaints us, that the four grand folemnities or general facrifices of the Druids were at the equinoxes and the folftices. None, however, was celebrated with greater festival pomp than the vernal equinox, for it was at that period, the first of April, old style, that the Arch-Druid, arrayed in stole of virgin white, to denote unfullied chastity, the facred anguinum, or druid-egg, inchased in gold, suspended around his neck, bearing in one hand the mystical rod or staff, equally used by the Brahmins of India and the Magi of Persia, and elevating

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in the other, the golden fickle, issued forth in folemn procession to gather the sacred, wonder-working, all-bealing MISLETOE from its parent oak; under the expansive shade of whose branches the victims were facrificed, and the festive rites commenced. Knowing the veneration entertained in India for the bovine species, we could scarcely believe, that a race, descended, as I contend, from the Brahmins, or at least educated in the school of Brahma, could then immolate, as was the constant custom of the Druids after gathering the misletoe, two white bulls that had never borne the yoke, did we not know that both the Brahmins and the Persians were anciently addicted to the GOMEDHA Jug, or facrifice of the bull, in honour of the Sun. Nor can we wonder that the misletoe, thus gathered, was afterwards offered to Taranis, or Jupiter; that deity who was supposed to preside in Aries, as the guardian genius of the constellation, and whose symbol, we have just observed, was the ram.

Mr. Volney, with that determined spirit of scepticism which distinguishes his writings, contends, that the feast of the Jewish passover, when the paschal lamb was sacrificed, derived

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its real origin, not from the awful event recorded in Scripture, but from the ancient Egyptian custom of observing with festival rites the period when the Sun arrives at the equinoctial line; and the Hebrew word PASCHA, which certainly signifies passage, he interprets as descriptive merely of the Sun's passing from one hemisphere into the other. ancient Jews and their modern descendants undoubtedly kept, and do keep, this most solemn festival at the vernal equinox, beginning it on the evening of the fourteenth of the month Nisan, and continuing it in March, for seven days afterwards, including the twentieth, on which day the Sun actually reaches the equinoctial line, but, independently of the folemn affeveration of Holy Writ as to the origin and defign of the passover, the national records of the Hebrews, and their continued observation of it during so many ages, with rites peculiar and appropriate to the professed intention, rites not otherwise to be accounted for, are unanswerable proofs of the divine origin of that institution among them. With equal confidence and impiety he distorts the expressions, so often occurring in Scripture, of the Lamb of God, of the coming of the

the Redeemer, and the regenerator of a fallen world, referring them to an astronomical origin, and the millennium of Christians to that aufpicious period when the grand anountasary shall take place; after the Sun shall have travelled through the zodiacal asterisms; and begin the new Annus Magnus in the first degree of the sign Aries.

There is, also, another annual festival, celebrated on the same day in both countries, which opens a not less extensive and curious field for inquiry; and as the investigation will lead to a display of Oriental manners, founded on astronomical speculation, I shall discuss the subject at some length.

This festival was observed with ceremonies wonderfully similar in countries so remote as Britain and India; for although I do not recollect that the facetious Mr. Knight has taken notice of a circumstance that fell so immediately within the sphere of his profound lucubrations on a certain worship, which he has discussed so amply, yet the reader may rest assured, that, on the First of May, when the Sun enters into the sign Taurus, Englishmen unknowingly celebrate the Phallic festival of India and Egypt, and he will, perhaps,

F 4 be

be convinced of this, when he shall recollect what was intimated in page 312, vol. ii. of the Indian Antiquities, that the Greek word φαλλος fignifies a pole, and the splendid decoration of golden crowns, which, somewhat after the manner of the gilded falvers and tankards suspended around the English pageant, adorned that φαλλος, anciently difplayed to public view in the Egyptian festival there alluded to. Far be it from me to impeach the unfullied modesty of the chaste British virgin, that with her gay lover on that happy day, when the Sun, the bright prolific fource of generation, with renovated vigour enters into the fign Taurus, the emblem also on earth of vigour and fertility, far be it from me to call the blush of shame into her blooming cheek; yet historic truth compels me to acquaint her, that while, with her delighted lover, she glides in the mazy dance around the elevated symbol of the productive energy of nature, so richly bedecked with flowers and garlands, she performs the part, and renovates, in Britain, the worship and rites, of the ancient φαλλοφεραι. Lovely unsuspecting damsels! pursue your innocent sports unabashed, and continue to enjoy in your

your happy ignorance pleasures denied to minds more refined and scrupulous,

THE FIRST OF MAY EQUALLY REGARDED AS A PHALLIC FESTIVAL IN INDIA AND IN BRITAIN.

WHEN the reader calls to mind what has already been observed, tnat, owing to the precession of the equinoxes, after the rate of feventy-two years to a degree, a total alteration has taken place through all the figns of the ecliptic, infomuch that those stars which formerly were in Aries have now got into Taurus, and those of Taurus into Gemini: and when he confiders also the difference before-mentioned, occasioned by the reform of the calendar, he will not wonder at the difagreement that exists in respect to the exact period of the year on which the great festivals were anciently kept, and that on which, in imitation of primæval customs, they are celebrated by the moderns. Now the vernal equinox, after the rate of that precession, certainly could not have coincided with the first of May less than four thousand years before

fore Christ, which nearly marks the zera of the creation, which, according to the best and wisest chronologers, began at the vernal equinox, when all nature was gay and fmiling, and the earth arrayed in its loveliest verdure, and not, as others have imagined, at the dreary autumnal equinox, when that nature must necessarily have its beauty declining, and that earth its verdure decaying. I have little doubt, therefore, that May-day, or at least the day on which the Sun entered Tauren. has been immemorially kept as a facred festival from the creation of the earth and man, and was originally intended as a memorial of that auspicious period and that momentous event.

Independent, however, of any particular allusion to that primæval event, which, after all, is but conjecture, the bull being in the East the universal emblem of the supreme generative power that made the world, the period of the Sun's ingress into that sign could scarcely fail of being regarded with peculiar honours by a race involved in the depth of a gross physical superstition and devoted to the Phallic worship. On the lofty eminences of the Carns, that were extended in a line over

the whole coast near which the Druids resided, and which were conspicuously raised in sight of each other, it was their custom, on Mayeve, to light up prodigious fires which illumined the whole region round about. These fires were in honour of Beal, or Bealan, the Irish and Celtic word for the Sun; and hence it arose, that Bealteine is still used for Mayday by the Highlanders of Scotland.

Two of these fires, according to Toland, were kindled on May-day, in every village of the nation, between which the men and beafts to be facrificed were obliged to pass; one of them being kindled on the Carn, and the other on the ground.* These fires were supposed to confer a fanctity upon those who passed through them, as was the intention in the rites of Mithra, when the candidate for initiation was alternately plunged in baths of fire and water at once to try his resolution, and to purify him; a word derived from this very custom, for mue is the Greek term for fire. The ancient and barbarous custom of the Phænicians in making their children pass through the fire to Moloch, is by this prae-

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^{*} Hist. of the Druids, vol. i. p. 71.

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recollection; and, as we know that they worfhipped the Sun under the title of Moloch, so we are as certain that that worship and this rite were derived to them from their Eastern ancestors.

On the general devotion of the ancients to the worship of the Bull I have had frequent occasion to remark, and more particularly in the Indian History, by their addiction to it at that period,

Aperit cum cornibus annum Taurus,

when the BULL with his horns opened the vernal year." I observed that all nations seem anciently to have vied with each other in celebrating that blissful epoch; and that the moment the Sun entered the sign Taurus, were displayed the signals of triumph and the incentives to passion; that memorials of the universal festivity indulged at that season are to be found in the records and customs of people otherwise the most opposite in manners and the most remote in situation; I could not avoid considering the circumstance as a strong additional proof that mankind originally descended

feended from one great family, and proceeded to the several regions in which they finally settled from one common and central spot; that the Apis, or sacred bull of Egypt, was only the symbol of the Sun in the vigour of vernal youth; and that the bull of Japan, breaking with his horn the mundane egg, was evidently connected with the same bovine species of superstition, sounded on the mixture of astronomy and mythology.

It is remarkable, that one of the most for lemn feasts of the Hindoos, called that of Auruna, the day-star, falls on the fixth day of the new moon in May, and is dedicated; fays Mr. Holwell, to the Goddess of Generation, who is worshipped when the morning star appears, or at dawn of day, for the propagation of children, and to remove barrenness. On this day, he adds, presents are ufually made by parents to their fons-in-law, in token probably of the holy nuptial rite, and the day ends with a banquet. This ancient custom of making presents to friends, and relatives, and great men, on the first day of the new year, has descended down to our own times, and the new-year's gift exhibits to us another remnant of Afiatic hilarity imita-

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ting the bounties of nature at the vernal sea-

The same Colonel Pearce, before cited, in a letter published in the Asiatic Researches, thus describes the annual Indian festival holden on the first of May: "I beg leave to point out to the fociety that the Sunday before last was the festival of Bhavani, (a personification of vernal nature, the Dea Syria of Chaldea. and Venus Urania of Persia,) which is annually celebrated by the Gopas and all other Hindoos, who keep horned cattle for use or profit. On this feast, they visit gardens, erect a pole in the fields, and adorn it with pendants and garlands. The Sunday before last, he adds, was our first of May, on which the same rites are performed by the same class of people in England, where it is well known to be a relic of ancient superstition. It should feem, therefore, that the religion of the East and the old religion of Britain had a strong affinity."*

Mr. Finch, too, + speaking of the great Meydan or square of Surat, describes what he

calls

[•] See Afiatic Researches, vol. ii. p. 333.

[†] See his Travels in Harris's Collection, vol. i. p. 84.

which, he says, the Hindoos make their pattime on the great festival-days.

To fatisfy ourselves that the race who erected the stupendous circular temple of Stonenenge were a tribe of Brachmans, of the sect of Boodh, we have only to call to mind the peculiar predominant superstition of that tribe, which, according to Lucian, was the adoration of the Sun, as a secondary deity, in a circular dance, expressive of his supposed revolution; and to attend to the mode after which that sect principally represented their savourite deity.

I have elsewhere observed from Vitruvius, that, in conformity to a notion of the ancients, when erecting temples to the pagan deities, that the properties and functions of the object adored should be attended to, all the temples to the Sun, the Moon, and the other planets, were built in a circular manner, because those orbs perpetually revolve in vast circles. Now Diodorus Siculus informs us, that there was an island beyond Gaul, as large as Sicily, in which the Hyperborean race adored Apollo in a circular temple, considerable

able for its fize and riches.* "By Apollo," fays one of the best, but not the purest, writer of mythology in the present age, " in the language of the Greeks of that day, can be meant no other personage than the Sun;" and he thinks the island can be no other than Britain, which might be known to the Greeks by the vague reports of Phænician mariners. The circumstance of its being thus particularized, Mr. Knight thinks, is a convincing proof of the magnitude and celebrity of this structure; and he is of opinion, that STONE-HENGE was the identical temple here alluded to. This remark of Mr. Knight is perfectly congenial with my own fentiments on the fubject, and I mean in a future page to give the whole passage, at length from Diodorus, with fuch strictures upon what precedes and and follows it as I conceive will place the fact beyond dispute. That Gentleman's consequent observation that the large obelisks of stone, found in many parts of the North, fuch as those at RUDSTONE, described in the fifth volume of the Archæologia, and those near Burroughbridge, delineated in Stuke-

^{*} Diodorus Siculus, lib. ii. p. 130.

ley's Itinerary, and now called the Devil's Arrows, are vestiges of the same religion, is made with equal judgement; and evinces the writer's intimate knowledge of the earliest superstitions of the East.*

That the Druids not less than the Brachmans adored the Sun in a circular dance, is not only evident from the following passages in Athenæus and Pliny, but from many others in Toland's History of the Druids, and may be proved from similar practices at this day existing in the Hebrides, and many places where those Druids took up their favourite though fecluded residence. Athenæus tells us that the ancient Gauls, "when they worshipped their gods, turned round on the right hand,"+ imitating thereby the apparent motion of the heavens from east to west, and the radiant march of the stars. Pliny confirms this account, by expressly saying, "that the Gauls, contrary to the practice of the Romans, who were accustomed in their devotions to turn the body quite round from left to right, imitating thereby the course of the fun and planets, always turned round the

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body,

Mr. Knight on the Phallic Worship, p. 115.

Athenæus, lib. iv. p. 152.

body, in adorando, from right to left."* When you worship the gods, says Plautus, worship turning to the right hand. Si deos falutas dextrovorsum censeo.+ It is a curious fact, and by no means to be omitted in this place, that the ancients, not less than the moderns, made the festive goblet circulate according to the course of the fun, of which no stronger nor more authentic testimony need be brought than that of old Homer himself, who describes the immortals as quaffing their nectar in this order; for Vulcan, when he carries the goblet round, goes round ενδεξια, t by the right hand, not merely with dexterity, or nimbly, as the translators render it, but to imitate the course of the planet who matures the genial grape. Had Pope been like Homer, vinosus, he would have noticed this; but Pope was not celebrated for his hospitalities.

For the fuller information of the reader on this subject, I must beg his attention to the following account of the sacred astronomical

dance

^{*} Plin. Hift. Nat. lib. xxviii. cap. z.

[†] Plautus, act i. scene i. verse 70.

¹ Homeri Hiad. lib. i. v. 597.

dance of the ancients in a former volume. "Besides these dances, there existed in antiquity a folemn and measured dance, more particularly instituted by the astronomical priefts, which imitated the motion of the fun and planets, in their respective orbits. This dance was divided into three parts, the Brophe, the antistrophe, and that which was called flationary, or flow and scarcely-perceptible motion before the altar. In the strophe, they danced from the right hand to the left, by which motion, Plutarch is of opinion, they meant to indicate the apparent motion of the heavens, from east to west: in the antistrophe, they moved from the left to the right, in allusion to the motion of the planets, from west to east; and, by the slow, or stationary, motion before the altar, the permanent stability of the earth. It was in the last situation that the emusy, or ode after the dance, was fung. I cannot, however, avoid being of opinion, that the ancients knew something more of the true system of astronomy than this, and that, by the slow stationary, or hardly-perceptible, motion before the altar, they intended to denote either the G₂



the revolution of the earth upon its axis, or else the folfitial period."

The RAAS JATTRA, or circular dance, of the Indians, an account of which follows the above quotation, will demonstrate the truth of Lucian's affertion in regard to its existence among the Brachmans; and how much the Druids were devoted to this species of worship we shall presently learn from the proofs adduced, as well from ancient as modern times, in the page of their historian, Mr. Toland.

In the ifles of Scotland, he informs us, at this day the vulgar still shew a great respect for the Druids' houses, and never come to the ancient facrificing and fire-hallowing carns, but they walk three times round them, from east' to west, according to the course of the sun. This fanctified tour, or round by the South, is called Deiseal, as the unhallowed contrary one by the north Tuapboll. The first is derived from Deas, or Dess, the right hand, and Soil, one of the ancient names of the Sun: the right hand in this round begin ever next the carn. The Protestants in the Hebrides are almost as much addicted to the Deiseal as the Papists: hereby it may be seen how

how hard it is to eradicate inveterate superstition. This custom was used three thousand years ago, and very probably long before, by their ancestors the ancient Gauls, of the same religion with themselves.*

The same author acquaints us that the inhabitants of Lewis, one of the largest of the
western isles, still practise this circular species
of worship, bowing three times, and repeating three solemn prayers, as they morning
and evening go in procession round the chapel
in which their devotions are performed; and
that the common mode of paying respect and
homage to benefactors and persons of eminence and dignity, throughout those islands,
is three times to turn round them sunways, all
the while blessing them and invoking heaven
in their favour.+

We come now to consider after what peculiar manner the sect devoted to Buddha represented this their favourite deity, which we shall find to be exactly after the manner in which the Druids imaged their deity.

* Toland's History of the Druids, p. 108.

+ Ibid. p. 118.

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If the reader will be pleased to revert to my concile account, of the superstition of Boodh in a preceding volume of Indian Antiquities,* he will there find, that, in the Indian peninfula, this deity was represented by a stupendous stone idol, called the Sommonaco-DOM, and that his followers took delight in erecting to his honour "temples and high monuments, as if," fays Mr. Knox, in his account of Ceylone there cited, " they had been born folely to hew rocks and huge ftones, and lay them up in heaps." He has been likewise informed, from Norden, that the Egyptian priests resided near the pyramids in square stone cells; and from M. Le Loubere. that the priests of Boodh, in Siam, a suppofed colony from Egypt, refided in a kind of convent, confisting of many little cells, ranged in within a large square inclosure, in the middle of which stood the temple. He then adds, certain pyramids stand near and quite round the temple.+

Of that secluded race of men, who lived in the hallowed groves and caves of Mona, and

erected



^{*} See the third volume towards the commencement.

[†] Ibid.

erected the stupendous circular structure and the lofty obelisks above referred to, can any description be more pointedly picturesque? But let us inquire more particularly what opinion the Indians themselves entertain of their god Buddha. What was the exact period in which he lived? Whom did he marry? Where was he born? Whence did he come?

I am aware that Kæmpfer speaking of Buddha boldly afferts him to be the same with the renowned Budia Sakia, whose priests, when Cambyses ravaged Egypt, were driven from that desolated country into every region that would afford them shelter; who, it is faid, introduced their idol into China, under the foftened name of Fo, fince the inhabitants of that vast empire, having neither B nor D in their alphabet, could not pronounce the former harsh appellative; who gave their god Sommonacodom to the Siamese; and who, by the ships of the Phænicians, fince the commerce of that people with Britain for their envied tin was about that time in its fullest vigour, might easily find a passage into this country. Py the former supposition, the original occasion of introducing the ancient Oriental G 4

Oriental superstitions into Britain is indeed in fome degree accounted for; but, in that case, the priefts of Mona should be descendants of the old Egyptians, with whom, though in fome general points of their religion they may agree, yet to whom, in many of their particular ceremonies and more diftinguishing tenets, they are directly opposite. But befides this glaring incongruity and innumerable other abfurdities in this hypothesis, the æra affigned for the first planting of the Afiatic fuperstitions in Europe is far too late in the annals of time. We know that the Druid fystem of religion, long before the time of Cambyfes, had taken deep root in the British The Budia Sakia mentioned by Kæmpfer was doubtless the second Bhood, the usurper of the honours of the first, who, in fact, was one of the most renowned of the Indian AVATARS, and a brilliant incarnation of the Deity himself. The Druid doctrines and manners are not of an Egyptian stamp; they are altogether those of the patriarchal ages, and have a striking affinity to those of the Scythian and Celto-Scythian tribes, who, in different, but all remote, æras, descending from that great hive, or, as it has been emphatically

phatically called, that forge of mankind, the Northern Asia, conquered Denmark, Norway, Sweden, and deluged the half of Europe with a new and hardier race of men. The Scandinavian historians have recorded these invasions; and the conquering chieftain, or rather God in human form, according to the Hindoo system of successive incarnations of the Deity, who led the first legions from the overcharged plains of Scythia, bore the renowned name of Woden.

Monsieur Mallet, previous to his History of Sweden, presented his patrons with a work which he entitled Antiquitates Septentrionales, or Northern Antiquities; and I have presented mine with a work, which I have entitled Indian Antiquities. However different in name, in the end it may possibly turn out, that the subjects of our investigation, at least as far as their primæval manners and early history are concerned, do not so materially vary. In the fourth chapter of that book, the following intelligence is recorded.

"A celebrated TRADITION, confirmed by the poems of all the northern nations, by their chronicles, by institutions and customs, some of which subsist to this day, informs us, that, that, in very early periods, an extraordinary person, named Oden, reigned in the North; that he made great changes in the government, manners, and religion, of those countries; that he enjoyed there great authority, and had even divine honours paid him. All these are facts which cannot be contested: but as to what concerns the original of this man, the country whence he came, the time in which he lived, and the other circumstances of his life and death, they are so uncertain, that the most prosound researches, the most ingenious conjectures relative to them, discover nothing to us but our own ignorance."*

I have before observed, that the belief of the Metempsychosis, and the system of EMA-NATIONS, so ancient and universal in India, has been frequently the occasion of introducing, upon the theatre of human transactions, personages upon whom, on account of similarity of genius or talents, though flourishing in ages very remote from each other, they bestowed one common name. This circumstance has given birth to a multitude of imaginary Zoroasters and Orpheuses, and this

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^{*} Mallet's Northern Antiquities, p. 58.

has doubtless been the real cause, that on two ... persons, living in very different periods of the Indian and Scythian empires, the distinguished denominations of Boodh and Woden have been conferred. The etymology of the name Sacya, or Sakia, according to Sir William Jones, is to be found in a Sanscreet word fignifying a feeder on vegetables, and the term BUDDHA, or Boodhist, means, in general, a fage or philosopher. Well aware how important a point it was to fix as nearly as possible the æra of the original Boods, Sir William has bestowed upon the investigation a considerable portion of that indefatigable industry, which he has so honourably to himself, and with fo much advantage to Oriental literature, employed upon Indian subjects. A fimilar conviction of the importance of that point has induced me, in another place, to extend and amplify his observations, and to collect together all the circumstances to be met with in antiquity that might throw any light on the character and æra of the Egyptian Hermes, or Anubis, who was indubitably the same person with the elder Boodh of India. The reader will find the refult of my inquiries stated in the history of the ninth incarnation of Veeshnu.

Veeshnu, under the name and form of Boodh. For the present, it will be sufficient to remark, that, according to the BHAGAVAT-AMRITA, or cream of the Bhagavat, a commentary, written by a learned Goswani, of good authority, the prior Boodh appeared on earth towards the commencement of the Cali Yug, or present age; and, what is extremely to our purpose, that he married ILA, whose father was preserved in a miraculous ark from an universal deluge.* Now it is a very remarkable fact, and fingularly corroborative of the Indian as well as facred records, that Noah himself is called Ilus in the Phoenician History of Sanchoniatho; for Xpowos, or Noah, is there represented as the son of Ougaros and Γη, or Heaven and Earth, allusive to his being the first man after the deluge; and Chronus and Ilus are terms throughout that history used as synonymous.+

I must here, therefore, again request the reader to observe, that as I have all along contended for a prior Buddha, existing in the first ages of the post-diluvian world, and one

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^{*} Asiatic Researches, vol. ii. p. 376.

⁺ See Bishop Cumberland's Sanchoniatho, p. 29, et seq.

of the immediate descendants of Noah, throughout the whole of this differtation I also allude to the first, or God Woden, immemorially canonized through all the regions of the Northern Asia, the true hyperborean Mars, and not to that renowned Scandinavian conqueror of later periods who assumed his name, and arrogated his rites, that common artifice of the times in which he flourished, to inspire his followers with the deeper respect. In another part of his learned work Mr. Mallet remarks: " I will not answer for the truth of the account given of the original of this God-man; I only suspect that at some period of time, more or less early, either he, or his fathers, or the authors of his religion, came from fome country of Scythia, or from the borders of Persia. I may add, that the God, whose prophet or priest he pretended to be, was named ODIN, and that the ignorance of fucceeding ages confounded the Deity with his prieft, composing, out of the attributes of the one and the history of the other, a gross medley, in which we can at present distinguish nothing very certain. New proofs of this confusion will occur in all we shall hereafter produce produce on this subject; and it will behove the reader never to lose sight of this observation."*

In fact, both this author's subsequent relation, and all other genuine accounts of the ancient superstitious doctrines and rites of the northern nations, invariably tend to confirm the hypothesis of their Asiatic original. The Edda itself is little more than a collection of Indian mythological fables, relative to the origin of the world; the chaos; the impregnating spirit; the good and evil race; the contests of the giants; the inundation of the globe, &c. &c. This very writer, after a large extract from that book, and an ancient Runic poem, called the Voluspa, confirms my argument in the following remarkable comment.

"It is easy to trace out in this narration vestiges of an ancient and general tradition, of which every sect of paganism hath altered, adorned, or suppressed, many circumstances according to their own fancy, and which is now only to be found intire in the books of Moses. Let the strokes we have here produ-

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[•] Mallet's Northern Antiquities, p. 68, et seq.

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ced be compared with the beginning of Hefiod's Theogony, with the mythology of some Afiatic nations, and with the book of Genefis, and we shall instantly be convinced, that the conformity which is found between many circumstances in their recitals cannot be the mere work of chance. Thus, in the Edda, the description of the Chaos; that vivifying breath which produces the giant Ymer; that fleep during which a male and female spring from his fides: that race of the fons of the gods; that deluge which only one man escapes with his family, by means of a bark; that renewal of the world which succeeds: that first man and first woman created by the gods, and who receive from them life and motion: all this feems to be only remains of a more ancient and more general belief, which the Scythians carried with them when they retired into the North, and which they altered more flowly than the other nations. One may discover also in the very nature of these alterations the same spirit of allegory, the same defire of accounting for all the phænomena of nature by fictions, which hath Juggested to other nations the greatest part of

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the fables with which their theology is infected."*

The fublime notions of the deity inculcated in the Baghvat Geeta, and the Indian and Persian doctrine of subordinate intelligences guiding the revolving orbs, governing the world, and prefiding over the elements of nature, are all discovered in their system of theological belief, as detailed by M. Mallet; and his representation of their ancient worship in vast forests, and uncovered shrines, forcibly brings to our recollection the widefpreading banian-tree of India, the folemn groves of Mona, and the open temples of Stonehenge and Abury. "Their religion forbade them to represent the divinity under any corporeal form. They were not even to think of confining him within the inclosure of walls, but were taught that it was only within woods and confecrated forests that they could ferve him properly. There he feemed to reign in filence, and to make himfelf felt by the respect which he inspired. It was an injurious extravagance to attribute to this deity a human figure, to erect statues to

Mallet's Northern Antiquities, p. 108.

him,

him, to suppose him of any sex, or to reprefent him by images. From this supreme God were forung (as it were, emanations of his divinity) an infinite number of subaltern deities and genii, of which every part of the visible world was the feat and temple. These intelligences did not barely reside in each part of nature; they directed its operations; it was the organ or instrument of their love or liberality to mankind. Each element was under the guidance of some being peculiar to it. The earth, the water, the fire, the air, the fun, moon, and stars, had each their respective divinity. The trees, forests, rivers, mountains, rocks, winds, thunder, and tempests, had the same: and merited on that score a religious worship, which, at first, could not be directed to the visible object, but to the intelligence with which it was animated. The motive of this worship was the fear of a deity irritated by the fins of men, but who, at the fame time, was merciful, and capable of being appealed by prayer and repentance."*

A very just and ingenious remark of our author follows on the WATER and FIRE

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[•] Mallet's Northern Antiquities, p. 80.

ORDEALS equally in use among the Indian and Northern nations; for he observes, that, as all the elements were supposed to be animated by an intelligence as incorruptible in its justice as the deity whence it sprang, they thought they had nothing to do but to unite the accused person to one of these divinities, and so oblige it to declare, by the manner of its acting upon him, what judgement it entertained of his innocence. Thus sometimes they cast him into a deep water, tied about with cords: if he funk, that is, if the Genius of the water received him into its bofom, it declared him to be innocent: if it rejected him, if he swam upon the surface, he was confidered as convicted of the crime. was the same with their fire-ordeals; and he, who, unhurt, could thrust his hands into iron gauntlets, made red-hot, or could walk, at ease, over burning ploughshares, was concluded to be guiltless. From those Asiatic and Northern regions, in remote æras derived, a fimilar custom prevailed in Britain; and Dr. Percy, his translator, remarks, that, long after Christianity was established among the Anglo-Saxons, King Edward the Confessor (a reputed faint) is faid to have put his mother to the

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the proof of the burning ploughshares. And even down to our own times, the WATERY ORDEAL, or proof by swimming, has been employed by the vulgar for the trial of witch-crast, whenever they could find means to put it in practice.*

On the whole, nothing can be more strikingly true than what Pliny, speaking of the ancient Magian superstition, near eight hundred years ago, observed concerning the Druids of Britain; Britannia Hodie eam (Magiam) attonite celebrat tantis ceremoniis, ut eam Persis dedisse videri possit. But, as we have proved the Persians and Indians to have been originally the same race, and the Magiand Brachmans to have belonged to the same grand Eastern school, the hypothesis on which this Dissertation is built is proportionably corroborated by the remark of this ancient writer, and with this remark I conclude the second section.

- Mallet's Northern Antiquities, vol. i. p. 190,
- + Plinii Nat. Hist, lib. xxx. cap. 1.

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SECTION III.

The Subject discussed in the last Section continued, by a farther Display and Parallel of the Superstitions of the Druids and Brahmins after the true patriarchal Theology became corrupted. - Worship of rude Stones in confecrated Groves and Caverns, and their Sanguinary Sacrifices of Men and Beafts. - The borrible buman Hecatombs of the more ferocious Druids in Wicker Inclosures. - The Veneration paid to Stones, conical, pyramidal, or placed in circular Heaps, Remains of the ancient solar Superstition, since bis Disc, or Rays, were shadowed out under those Emblems. - The greater aftronomical Cycles were also thus symbolized, fince the Circles are generally formed of Sixty, Thirty, or Nineteen, columnar Stones; the First representing the grand H 3 sexagenary

sexagenary Cycle of the Asiatic Astronomers; the Second, the celebrated Druid Age; Third, the Metonic, or rather Indian, Cycle. -In this Light, and with this Clue, the Author proceeds to confider the most remarkable Druid Monuments of Britain. - The Carns, the Cromlech, the Logan, the Tolmeh of the Druids, successively described, and mythologically explained. - Stonehenge, a solar Temple; the great Circle the Disc of the Sun; the Number of Stones composing it, including Thirty Impost and Thirty Uprights, Sixty, the fexagenary Cycle; a Cycle first formed in India, but early adopted in China. - The Adytum, or Cove, of Stonebenge, an Oval, representing the mundane Egg, or Universe; its inner Circle of Stones, Nineteen in Number. -The grander serpentine Temple of Abury confidered. - Serpents ever, in the East, Emblems of astronomical Cycles. - Their mythological History. — The great Circle of Columns at Abury, confisting of One Hundred Stones, represents the Sun's Progress through a Period of One Hundred Hundred Years, or a complete Century. — The lesser Circle of Thirty, the Druid Age. — The least of Twelve, the Period of Jupiter's Revolution, which, multiplied by Five, forms in India the great sexagenary Cycle, as is well known to Gentlemen versed in Indian Astronomy; to whom the Author with Considence appeals from the Imputation of Hypothesis.

The first authority, shewn that the Northern Asia was principally possessed by two great nations, the one polished and literate, and the other barbarous and unlettered; having also shewn the original descent and the accidental mixture of those two nations, and traced the progress towards Europe of the great body of the Scythian, or Celtic, colenies, infected with all the superstitions of the Indian Buddha, or Woden of the North, that renowned, but obscure, character, who shourished at the commencement of the present age, or period, and who married Ila, whose father, according to Sanscreet annals, was preserved in a miraculous ark from an univer-

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fal deluge; we come, in the present section, to the consideration of the particular superstitions known to have flourished, during the earliest periods, in these islands; superstitions too congenial with those anciently celebrated in Asia, to allow any doubt of their having been imported by the earliest Asiatic settlers. The first that demands our attention is their attachment to

THE WORSHIP OF RUDE STONES IN CONSE-CRATED GROVES; AND THEIR SANGUI-NARY SACRIFICES OF MEN AND BEASTS.

UPON the commencement of the Theological Differtation, in the first volume of the Indian Antiquities, I had occasion to remark, from Keysler, that the ancient Indo-Scythians performed their sanguinary sacrifices "under groves of oak of astonishing extent and of the profoundest gloom,"* and I cursorily traced the vestige of those barbarous rites in Gaul and Britain. I also instanced, from Herodo-

* Vol. ii. p. 36.

tus,

tus, their peculiar mode of facrificing to the rufty cimeter, the fymbol of Mars, the god Hesus of the Druids, the victims taken in war; and I adduced more than one instance of fimilitude which the national manners of Scythia bore to those of the war-tribe of Without crediting all the extravagant affertions of Bailly and De Guignes, concerning the unfathomable antiquity of the primitive prototypal race of Asia, who were doubtless Cuthite colonies, at that remote imaginary period, when the line of the equator passed through the middle of the vast deserts of Tartary, and made the frozen soil of Siberia fruitful, we may fafely allow the martial progeny of Scythia, by intermixture and commerce, to have influenced, in a great degree, the habits and cuftoms of their Indian neighbours, and to have been reciprocally affected by those of the people with whom they thus accidentally communicated. I shall not attempt to ascertain in which region the very peculiar veneration which either nation entertained for facred forests of immense extent originated; it is sufficient for my purpose that this very striking point of affinity anciently existed between the Tartarian and Brahmin magi. The relentless Diana

Diana of the Tauric grove was probably no other than the stern Nareda, or Cali, of the Indians. Their characters are consentaneous, and their rites accord in dreadful unifon. With the Scythians, a tall and stately tree, with wide-spreading arms, was the majestic emblem of God; and though Herodotus asferts that they had temples and images, his affertion is not confirmed by any other historían of antiquity. In fact, their temples confifted only of vast heaps of colossal stones, rudely, if at all, carved; and in the most unwieldy stone, as well as in the most lofty tree. they, like the Indians, contemplated the image of that Deity, of whom their perverted imaginations conceived the majesty and attributes to be best represented "by gigantic sculptures and massy symbols."

While we are treating on this subject of the oaken groves of the Druids and the abominable sacrifices with which they were contaminated, it is impossible to avoid remarking how widely this very custom of venerating Bætyla, or consecrated stones, and of worshipping under oaks was diffused in the remotest periods over the whole Oriental world, and in what profound veneration this very tree was holden

holden by the ancestors of the human race. It was under the confecrated oak that God and his holy messengers condescended to hold converse and to enter into solemn covenants with the patriarchs. "Abraham," we read, "passed through the land to the place of SICHEM, and (ad alloun Moreh) to the OAK-GROVE OF Moren, where the Lord appeared unto him, and faid, Unto thy feed will I give this land: and Abraham builded there an altar unto the Lord." Gen. xii. 6. In another part of Holy Writ we are informed, that "Joshua took a great stone, and set it up in Shechem, under AN OAK, that was by the fanctuary of the Lord." Joshua, xxiv. 26. In process of time, however, the Jewish nation, relapsing into the Pagan superstitions, diverted their religious attention from the Deity who covenanted with their father Abraham under the oak, and paid it to the inanimate tree itself. For this conduct they are reproached by the prophet Isaiah. "They shall be ashamed of the oaks which ye have defired, and ye shall be confounded for the groves which ye have chosen." Isaiab, i. 29. This ancient Oriental practice, therefore, of worshipping under, and venerating, the oak forms another decided feature of

of affinity in the religion of the two nations, and is an additional evidence of their Asiatic descent.

In respect to that other ancient species of worship, the adoration of stones, whether they were fingle stones, as that which Jacob anointed and fet up for bis pillar, calling the place BETH-EL, that is, literally, the bouse of Ged: whether two-fold, like those which were so combined as emblematically to represent the active and passive powers of nature in the generation of all things; whether ternary, as those which were intended to shadow out the three-fold power of the Deity to create, to preserve, and to destroy; whether obeliscal, as those which symbolized the solar light; whether pyramidal, as those which expressively typified the column of ascending flame; or whether, finally, like the CAIRNS of the Druids, arranged in vast circular heaps, called by the ancients MERCURIAL: on all these various kinds of adoration, paid, by the infatuated superstition of past ages, to the unconscious block of rude granite, M. D'Ancarville has prefented the learned with a most elaborate differtation, and he expressly denominates

minates this species of worship Scythi-

These grotesque and ponderous stones were placed in the centre of the most hallowed groves of the idolatrous Pagans, and it is most probable that they in general placed them, as we find them arranged in the Druidtemple of Stonehenge, in a circular manner; the Sun being the general object of ancient adoration, whose temples were always erected in a circular form. Like those of the Persians at Persepolis, they were open at the top; for, like them, the Scythians esteemed it impious to confine the Deity, who pervades all nature, and whose temple is earth and skies, within the narrow limits of a covered shrine, erected by mortal hands.

That profound veneration for rocks and stones of a grotesque form and enormous magnitude, which we have observed M.D'Ancarville denominates Scythicism, doubtless originated among a race accustomed to behold nature in the rugged dress which she assumes amidst "antres vast," and the abrupt pre-

cipices

[•] D'Ancarville's Preface to Récherches sur l'Origine des Arts, &c. p. 9 and 10.

cipices of mountains lofty and stupendous as the great Caucasus, which serves equally as a boundary to Scythia and India. This stone-worship, however, was not confined to the lofty romantic regions in the neighbourhood of the Caucasus. Instead of a statue the Arabians of Petra worshipped λιθος μελας τετραγωνος, ατολωτος, a black square pillar of stone, without any figure or representation It was the same deity, says Mr. Bryant, adored by the Germans and Celtæ, called Theutates, whose sacrifices were very cruel.* In the second volume of Indian Antiquities also, I have proved from Pocock, Ludolf, and Bruce, that the same species of worship was widely diffused through the Thebais of Egypt and Ethiopia, whose mountains exhibit scarcely less magnificent and terrific objects than those of the Tauric hills. A Deity was supposed to reside amidst the solitary grandeur of those rugged mis-shapen rocks; superstition aided a disturbed imagination to give the airy phantom a form gigantic as his imagined temple; to adorn him with the fymbols of vengeance and terror; and invest him with

attributes

^{*} Analysis, vol. i. p. 13.

attributes and properties congenial with their awe and apprehension. Hence it arose, that, with this species of rock-devotion, rites of a sombrous and melancholy nature were perpetually blended; and that their altars were stained with such torrents of buman as well as bestial blood.

Concerning the fanguinary rites anciently practifed in Druid groves, no stronger evidence or more impressive relation can be given than that before adduced by me from Lucan of those celebrated in the Massilian grove. which he describes as a place, gloomy, damp, and scarcely penetrable; a grove in which no sylvan deity ever resided, no bird ever fang, no beast ever slumbered, no gentle zephyr ever played, nor even the lightning could rend a passage. It was a place of blood and horror, abounding with altars reeking with the gore of human victims, by which all the trunks of the lofty and eternal oaks, which composed it, were dyed of a crimson colour: a black and turbid water rolled through it in many a winding stream: no foul ever entered the forlorn abode, except the priest, who, at noon, and at midnight, with paleness on his brow, and tremor in his

his step, went thither to celebrate the horrible mysteries in honour of that terrific deity, whose aspect he yet dreaded more than death to behold.

The British Druids, however, seem to have exceeded, if possible, even their Gaulic neighbours in savage ferocity of soul and boundless lust of facrificial blood. The pen of history trembles to relate the baleful orgieswhich their frantic superstition celebrated, when inclosing men, women, and children, in one vast wicker image, in the form of a man; and, filling it with every kind of combustibles, they fet fire to the huge colossus. While the dreadful holocaust was offering to their sanguinary gods, the groans and shrieks of the consuming victims were drowned amidst fhouts of barbarous triumph, and the air was rent with the wild dissonance of martial music. However incredible the imputation, it is not without reason suspected that they fometimes proceeded to even more criminal lengths, and finished their horrid sacrifice with a still more horrid banquet. Religion shudders at such a perversion of its name and rites; and humanity turns with horror from the guilty scene! Let us advert to less disgusting

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gusting traits of ancient Druid superstition; and, having theologically considered their profound reverence for rocks and stones, let us endeavour, if we can, philosophically to account for that curious worship, as I am of opinion a great portion of astronomy was blended with and concealed under it.

THE DRUIDS, LIKE THE ANCIENT INDIAN RACE, WORSHIPPED THE SUN, UNDER THE FORM OF ERECT, CONICAL, AND PYRAMIDAL STONES; THE SYMBOLS OF THE SOLAR BEAM.

THE worship of the Druids was not confined within the gloomy verge of consecrated groves. The HIGH PLACES, also, or excelsa, anathematized in Scripture, dedicated to Baal and to Astarte, the queen of heaven, were greatly in vogue among the ancient priests of Britain. On its lostiest eminences it was their custom to pile up rude irregular heaps of stones, such possibly as those which, in purer devotion, Jacob anointed, and set up for bis pillar, calling the place Bethel, or the bouse of God. Vol. VI.

Many of these sacred Mercurial heaps still remain on the summits of the mountains of Cornwall, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland. Some of them are of immense magnitude, containing, according to Stukely, at least, a hundred cart-loads of stones of all fizes. They were called in the ancient Celtic language CARNS, being for the most part of a conical and pyramidal form, with a large flat stone invariably placed on the apex, on which the facred fires, on the great festivals, were kindled. The Welch still call them Carnedde. which my author, Rowland, I have already observed, derives from the Hebrew KEREN-NEDH, a coped beap, alluding to the shape and figure of these cumuli, which were doubtless intended, like the pyramids of Egypt, and many of the cone-formed pagodas of India, to be symbolical of the ray of the Sun, the god they adored, and the fires occasionally. lighted upon their fummits indifputably demonstrate this fact. The worship of the Sun in reality was the basis both of the Eastern and Western superstition; and therefore, if we find obelisks and other erected pillars in Egypt and Asia, so may we naturally expect to discover them in the British isles; and here they

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they are found dispersed over the country in the greatest abundance. In the very word obelisk we may trace the Oriental name of the solar deity Bal; known to the Druids by the resembling title of Belenus, their god of fire, and apparent in the term Bealtine, or the fires that slamed to Baal, all over the country on May-eve.

These obelisks were of various magnitude. height, and disposition. They sometimes confifted of a fingle stone, one of which in particular is mentioned by Dr. Borlase, * as standing, a short time before he wrote his book, twenty feet in height above the ground, and four feet buried in it. When clove up by the farmer, the owner of the land on which it stood, it made above twenty stone posts for gates. He thinks these rude monuments were the ancient idols of the country. They certainly were facred, and had a mystical allusion. They were intended to be fymbolical of their great deity, the sun, and worshipped as such; they were also probably used as gnomons, to mark the length of the meridian shadow. Sometimes they were combined, as those dedicated

• Analysis, vol. i. p. 162.

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to Baal and Astarte, the fun and moon, and those to Jupiter and Juno, Pluto and Proferpine, alluding to the junction of the heavenly bodies. or the marriage of those mythologic deities. Sometimes two stone columns were fet up as fepulchral monuments, at the head and feet of the person interred; a practice still generally followed in English burying-grounds; and fometimes they were used as termini, as the pillars of Sesostris in Asia, and of Hercules at the ancient Gades; being the limits of his travels westward. Other erections of this kind were ternary, which are the true Equeta of antiquity, or symbols of the god Mercury, confisting of two large stones, placed erect. with one laid across their summits. Those huge colossal stones near Kennet, in Oxfordthire, called, from their magnitude, the Devil's Quoits, are three in number; and, most likely, have reference to the folar worship. The celebrated pyramidal pillars, before-mentioned, as flanding at Burrowbridge, in Yorkshire, are four in number, and are justly referred by Mr. Knight to the same source.

These grotesque and ponderous masses of unhewn stone, which, among a barbarous people, were reverenced as the symbols of deity, deity, were not always pyramidal nor placed in an erect posture. Sometimes they were recumbent, and poised on their own base, as in the case of those immense ovals, which, in Cornwall, are called LOGAN, rocking or bowing stones. These prodigious stones the Druids had the art to persuade their infatuated disciples were inspired with the spirit of the indwelling deity, and to this awful teff they brought the supposed criminal, over whose head the sword of justice was suspended, and the descent of which was alone delayed, till the animated mais, as he approached to touch it, by its tremulous motion declared him guilty. On this subject of the loganstones, I am happy in being able to quote the high authority of Mr. Bryant, whose seatiments fo remarkably confirm the hypothefis on which these pages proceed, of the wonderful antiquities, discussed in it, being the work of the first colonies that emigrated from Afia.

"It was usual," says that learned writer, "in those times, with much labour to place one vast stone upon another for a religious memorial. The stones thus placed, they oftentimes poized so equably, that they were affected I₃ with

with the least external force: nay a breath of wind would fometimes make them vibrate. We have many instances in our own country; and they are to be found in other parts of the world: and, wherever they occur, we may esteem them of the highest antiquity. All fuch works we generally refer to the Celts and Druids; under the fanction of which names we shelter ourselves, whenever we are ignorant and bewildered. But they were the operations of a very remote age; probably before the time when the Druids, or Celtæ, were first known. I question, whether there be in the world a monument, which is much prior to the celebrated Stonehenge. There is reason to think, that it was erected by a foreign colony; one of the first which came into the island. Here is extant, at this day, one of those rocking-stones, of which I have been speaking.

"The ancients distinguished stones, erected with a religious view, by the name of Amber; by which was fignified any thing solar and divine. The Grecians called them $\Pi \epsilon | \rho \alpha \iota$ Amber and there are representations of such upon coins. Stonehenge is composed of these Amber-stones: hence the next town is denominated

denominated Ambros-bury: not from a Roman Ambrosius, for no such person existed; but from the Ambrosiae Petrae, in whose vicinity it stands."*

In proof of what Mr. Bryant has here fo justly observed, there absolutely existed, till destroyed by the rage of Cromwell's levelling faction, a logan-stone near Penzance, in Cornwall, of great magnitude and celebrity, called in the Cornish language MAIN-AMBER, to which the inhabitants had for ages paid a kind of superstitious respect. Near Penzance, fays Camden, in whose days it existed, there is a very remarkable stone called Main-Ambre, which, though it be of a vast magnitude, yet may be moved with one finger: notwithstanding this, no violent exertion can push it from its place. The name is a translation of those Petræ Ambrosiæ of antiquity, and a print of it may be seen in Norden's History of Cornwall.

Near the *Main-Ambre* stands a famous Druidical temple called *Biscawoon*, consisting of *nineteen* pillars in a circle, with a central *Kebla*. Sir Robert Sibbald mentions these lo-

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^{*} Analysis, vol. iii. p. 533.

gan-stones as not uncommon in Scotland; and speaking of the rocking-stone near Belvaird, in Fife; "I am informed," says he, "that this stone was broken by the Usurper Cromwell's soldiers. It was discovered then that its motion was performed by a yolk extuberant in the middle of the under-surface of the uppermost stone, which was inserted in a cavity in the surface of the lower stone."

The next order of these ancient Druid stones not circular, that deserve notice, are the Cromlech, which are broad flat flabs, placed on high, in a horizontal position, upon others fixed on their edges in the ground, and were plainly intended for what their name imports, an altar for consecrated fire; the Hebrew being Charamluach, a devoted stone. That these Cromlech were really altars devoted to the folar worship, and not sepulchral monuments only, as Dr. Borlase intimates, though their partial application to that purpose may be allowed, fince the most ancient tombs were temples, is evident from what the Doctor himself informs us, relative to one near Cloyne, in Ireland, which is named from the folar superstition Carig-Croith, the rock of the Sun. The Cromlech is generally placed on an eminence: the covering-

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eovering-stones are fixed with the nicest geometrical precision; and, notwithstanding the amazing dimensions of many of them, that of Lanyon, in Cornwall, being forty-seven feet in circumference, and nineteen feet long, have been raised by art to the great elevation at which they are sometimes found.

Traces of this species of stone altars and the worship performed upon them are still to be found, according to Mr. Mallet, in all those empires of Europe which are situated nearest to the northern confines of Asia. "We find at this day," fays that writer, "in Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, in the middle of a plain, or upon some eminence, altars, around which the ancient inhabitants affembled to offer facrifices and to affift at other religious ceremonies. The greatest part of these altars are raised upon a little hill, either natural or artificial. Three long pieces of rock fet upright serve as a basis to a great flat stone, which forms the table of the altar. There is commonly a pretty large cavity under this altar, which might be intended to receive the blood of the victims; and they never fail to find stones for striking fire scattered round it; for no other fire, but such as was struck forth

forth with a flint, was pure enough for fo holy a purpose. Sometimes these rural altars are constructed in a more magnificent manner; a double range of enormous stones surround the altar and the little hill on which it is erected. In Zealand we see one of this kind; which is formed of stones of a prodigious Men would even now be afraid magnitude. to undertake such a work, notwithstanding all the affistance of the mechanic powers which in those times they wanted. What redoubles the astonishment is, that stones of that size are rarely to be feen throughout the island, and that they must have been brought from a great distance."*

The dimensions of some of the Cromlechs, in Britain, have been mentioned as astonishing; but even those dimensions, vast as they are, are trisling compared with those of the last order of this species of Druid stones, which shall be here noticed, and which the indefatigable industry of Dr. Borlase first explored, described, and commented upon. His account of these stones, which he denominates Tolmen, is so curious, his remarks on the mechanic powers known to the Druids so ingenious, and the kind of superstition practised

^{*} Mallet's Northern Antiquities, vol. i. p. 126.

at these Tolmen is so congenial with that in vogue amidst the holy caverns and rocks of India, described in former volumes of this work, that I shall beg leave to transcribe the whole relation; especially as his curious volume may not be in the hands of many of my readers in India, who will be not a little surprised to find the great affinity existing between the manners and customs of their countrymen in England, and the wonderful people among whom their residence is at prefent fixed.

"There is another kind of stone deity, which has never been taken notice of by any author that I have heard of. Its common name, in Cornwall and Scilly, is Tolmen; that is, the Hole of Stone. It consists of a large orbicular stone, supported by two stones, betwixt which there is a passage. There are two of these in the Scilly Islands, one on St. Mary's Island, at the bottom of Salakee-Downs; the top stone forty-sive feet in girt, horizontally measured; the other, in the little island of Northwethel, thirty-three feet in girt horizontal, by twenty-sour perpendicular, measurement. They are both on the decline of hills, beneath a large carn of rocks, standing on

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two natural supporters; the first has one exactly round bason on it; the second has none, neither are there any basons on the rocks below or near it; but elsewhere on the island there are feveral. Both these are probably erected by art; and the top-stones, large as they are, brought from the carns above, and placed by human strength where we see them. But the most astonishing monument of this kind is in the Tenement of Men, in the parish of Constantine, Cornwall. It is one vast egg-like flone, placed on the points of two natural rocks, so that a man may creep under the great one, and between its supporters, through a passage about three feet wide, and as much high. The longest diameter of this stone is thirty-three feet, pointing due north and fouth, end to end: it is fourteen feet fix inches deep; and the breadth in the middle of the furface, where widest, was eighteen feet fix inches wide from east to west. I measured one half of the circumference, and found it, according to my computation, forty-eight feet and a half, fo that this stone is ninety-seven feet in circumference, about fixty feet across the middle, and, by the best informations I can get, contains at least **feven**

feven hundred and fifty ton of stone. Getting up by a ladder to view the top of it, we found the whole furface worked, like an imperfect, or mutilated, honey-comb, into bafons; one, much larger than the rest, was at the fouth-end, about feven feet long; another, at the north, about five; the rest smaller, seldom more than one foot, oftentimes not so much; the sides and shape irregular. Most of these basons discharge into the two principal ones (which lie in the middle of the furface), those only excepted which are near the brim of the stone, and they have little lips or channels, which discharge the water they collect over the fides of the Tolmen, and the flat rocks which lie underneath receive the droppings in basons cut into their surfaces. This stone is no less wonderful for its position than for its fize; for although the under part is nearly semi-circular, yet it rests on the two large rocks; and so light and detached does it stand, that it touches the two under stones, but as it were on their points. The two Tolmens at Scilly are monuments evidently of the same kind with this, and of the same name; and these, with all of like structure, may with great probability, I think.

think, though of fuch stupendous weight, be afferted to be the works of art, the under stones in some instances appearing to have been fitted to receive and support the upper one. It is also plain, from their works at Stonehenge, and some of their other monuments, that the Druids had skill enough in the mechanical powers to lift vast weights; and the ancients, we know, in these rude works, spared no labour to accomplish their defign; Haraldus, at one time (as Wormius informs us) employing his whole army, and a great number of cattle, to bring one fingle stone to the place intended. The ancients had powers of moving vast weights, of which we have now no idea; and in some of their works we find bodies even heavier and larger than this Tolmen. In the ruins of Balbeck (the ancient Heliopolis of Syria), there are three stones lying end to end, in the same row, extending fixty-one yards, and one of them is fixty-three feet long, the other two fixty each. Their depth is twelve feet, and their breadth the fame, and, what adds to the wonder, they are raifed up into the wall above twenty feet from the ground. And near the city of Alexandria stands what is vulgarly called

called Pompey's Pillar (but erected by one of the Ptolemies), the shaft of which consists of one solid granate stone, ninety feet high and' thirty-eight in compass. Le Bruyn's Voyage, p. 171. Both these weights are greatly superior to that of this Tolmen.

" In the area below this stone there are many great rocks, which have certainly been divided and split; but whether thrown down from the sides of the Tolmen, for the purposes above-mentioned, I will not pretend to determine. One thing is remarkable, which is, that these Tolmens rest on supporters, and do not touch the earth, agreeably to an established principle of the Druids, who thought every thing that was facred would be profaned by touching the ground; and therefore, as I imagine, ordered it so, as that these deities should rest upon the pure rock, and not be defiled by touching the common earth. Another thing is worthy our notice in this kind of monuments, which is, that, underneath these vast stones, there is a hole, or passage, between the rocks. What use the ancients made of these passages, we can only guess; but we have reason to think, that when **Rones**

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stones were once ritually consecrated, they attributed great and miraculous virtues to every part of them, and imagined, that whatever touched, lay down upon, was furrounded by, or passed through, or under, these stones, acquired thereby a kind of holiness, and became more acceptable to the gods. This passage might also be a sanctuary for the offender to fly to, and shelter himself from the pursuer; but I imagine it chiefly to have been intended and used for introducing Proselytes, or Novices, people under vows, or about to facrifice, into their more sublime mysteries: for the same reason, I am apt to think, the vast architraves, or cross-stones, resting upon the uprights at Stonehenge, were erected; namely, with an intent to confecrate and prepare the worshippers, by passing through those holy rocks, for the better entering upon the offices which were to be performed in their Penetralia, the most facred part of the temple."*

In ancient Britain, therefore, at these Tolmen, or sacred cavity of stones, was performed the very same species of superstition alluded to in the second volume of this work; in which a passage through consecrated rocks

Borlase's Antiquities of Cornwall, p. 174, 175, 176.

VIEW of STONEHENGE,

PLATE III.



TCE from the NORTH EAST.

y of long established Friendship this flate is inscribed by J.M.

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is described as purifying the votary from the guilt of his crimes, and proved to have been iti use in the ancient mysteries celebrated in the caverns of Mithra; the principal entrances into which, as into Stonehenge, Abury, and all other Druid stone temples, was from the NORTH and the south, called, in the Homeric description of the cave of the nymphs, commented on and amply explained by Porphyry, the NORTHERN and SOUTHERN GATES. At this very day fomething, very much refembling the ancient notion and practice of purification in facred caverns, continues in vogue among the Hindoos in one of our own fettlements. the island of Bombay, about two miles from the town, rifes a confiderable hill, called Malabar-Hill, which, stretching into the ocean, by its projection, forms a kind of promontory. At the extreme point of this hill, on the descent towards the sea-shore, there is a rock, upon the furface of which there is a natural crevice which communicates with a cavity opening below, and terminating towards the "This place," fays an author, to whose printed account of it I was referred for corroborative evidence of its existence, "is used by the Gentoos as a purification for their Vol. VI. fins, K

fins, which, they say, is effected by their going in at the opening below, and emerging out of the cavity above. This cavity seems too narrow for persons of any corpulence to squeeze through; the ceremony, however, is in such high repute in the neighbouring countries, that there is a tradition, that the famous Conajee Angria ventured, by stealth, one night upon the island, on purpose to perform this ceremony, and got off undiscovered."

CIRCULAR STONE-MONUMENTS WERE INTEND-ED AS DURABLE SYMBOLS OF ASTRONOMI-CAL CYCLES BY A RACE WHO REJECTED THE USE OF LETTERS.

AN equal astronomical mystery attended those famous circular stone monuments of the Druids, so numerous in Britain. They were, doubtless, intended to be descriptive of astronomical cycles by a race, who, not having, or politically forbidding, the use of letters, had no other permanent method of instructing their disciples, or handing down their knowledge to posterity. For the most part, the stone pillars which compose them are found to be twelve in number,

number, alluding to the twelve months; and many to confift of thirty, in reference to the number of years, which, according to the Druids, formed an age, or generation, and was one of their favourite cycles, or else to that of the days of which the ancient lunar month confisted. It is remarkable, that the circle of stones, forming the grand area of the temple at Abury, according to Stukeley, confifts exactly of one hundred stones, in allusion to the century; of the two circular temples, inclosed in that grand area, the outermost is composed of thirty stones, the innermost circle of twelve, with an immense stone in the centre twentyone feet high, which was indisputably the stupendous gnomon, or stylus, of that mighty fun-dial. That the Egyptian obelisks were, in the fame manner, used as gnomons, I have proved in the third volume of these Antiquities, and how much, in general, the Oriental aftronomers were accustomed to use astronomical instruments of extraordinary magnitude, is evident from what we read in Greaves's Pyrami-DOGRAPHIA, and in Hyde, of the quadrant used by the Persian monarch and astronomer, Ulug Beg, which was as high as the dome of Sancta Sophia, at Constantinople; or one hundred K 2 and

and eighty Roman feet.* Dr. Borlase mentions four of these circles yet remaining in the hundred of Penweth, in Cornwall, + not eight miles afunder, which have nineteen stones each, and he is of opinion they allude to the two principal divisions of the year, the twelve months, and the feven days of the week. It is, however, my opinion, that the Druids knew, and meant to record by this number. the celebrated cycle of nineteen years, supposed to have been first invented by Meton, the Grecian astronomer, but known to the Indians, and entering into their calculations, in the earliest ages of the world, and consequently to their disciples who emigrated to the West. Rupendons gnomea, or itrius, of

As all circular monuments of this kind, but more especially those consisting of twelve columnal stones, were meant either as representations of the disk of the Sun, or the revolution of his orb through the twelve signs of the Zodiac, so all semi-circular ones shadowed out the lunar phænomena; but such dreadful havoc has been made of these venerable vestiges

of

^{*} See Ulug Beg's Fixed Stars, and Greaves's Works, vol. i.

Antiquities of Cornwall, p. 191.

of Druid superstition, and of their laborious detail in astronomical science, that, in most of them, the exact number of stones, of which they anciently confifted, cannot now be afcertained. Stonehenge, however, may be adduced as a magnificent instance of the former affertion; and there are two others which have an undoubted reference to the lunar devotion. although conceived by some antiquarles to have been formed for the purpose of theatrical exhibition. The one is in Anglesea, the ancient Mona, in a place called Trer Drew, or Druid's Town, a place too facred for theatrical exhibitions: the other is in Mainland, in the isle of Orkney, and the crescent-like forms of both evince the original purpose of their fabrication. Mr. Toland, in his History of the Druids,* confirms this circumstance, by faying, that ancient traditions, immemorially preserved on the spot, affert their dedication to the Sun and Moon. Thus we read in that Hiftory: " East of Drumeruy, in the isle of Orran, is a circular temple, the diameter of whose area is thirty paces; and in the fouth of the same village another, in the centre of which still

K 3 remains

[#] History of the Druids, vol.i. p. 89, et seq.

remains the altar, confisting of a thin broad stone, supported by three others. In the greatest island of the Orkneys, commonly called Mainland, are likewise two temples near Lockstenis, one of which is by ancient tradition believed to have been dedicated to the Sun and the other to the Moon; they are each of them furrounded by a trench, like that about Stonehenge; many of the stones are above twenty or twenty-four feet high, five broad, and one or two thick. Near the leffer temple, stand two stones of the same bigness with the rest, through the middle of one of which is a hole, which served to fasten victims or the wicker Colossus, in which crowds of persons were burnt alive. At Biscaw-woon, near St. Burien's, in Cornwall, is a circular temple, confisting of nineteen stones, distant from each other twelve feet, having another in the centre much higher than the rest." The same writer describes a remarkable Druid temple still remaining entire at Harries, one of the Western islands of Scotland, and the most westerly of them all, which exhibits, in its plan, both aftronomical science and strong remains of that physical worship to which the ancients were so grossly addicted, as it seems to have been

been erected to the Sun and the Elements, and in it, he informs us, Apollo, the deity of Classernis, was adored. The body of this temple confifts of twelve obelifks, or columns, placed circularly, about feven feet high, two broad, and fix diftant from one another, with one thirteen feet high in the centre, shaped like the rudder of a ship, doubtless the gnomon. It has likewife four wings, stretching out from its fides, confifting of four columns each, pointing directly east, south, west, and north, to represent either the four elements, or the four cardinal points, as the twelve pillars doubtless were intended to denote the twelve figns of the Zodiac. The avenue, which is north, confifts of two rows of columns, of the fame fize, and is erected at the fame distances as the former: the breadth of the avenue is eight feet, and the stones composing each side nineteen in number, a strong additional proof of their acquaintance with the ancient Indian cycle of nineteen years.*

* History of the Druids, vol. i. p. 90.

K 4

STONEHENGE,

STONEHENGE, A STUPENDOUS SOLAR TEMPLE:
THE CIRCLE INDICATES HIS DISK; AND THE
NUMBER OF STONES FORMING IT BEING
SIXTY, THE GREAT SEXAGENARY CYCLE
OF THE ASIATIC ASTRONOMERS.

BUT, of all the circular temples of the Druids, as STONEHENGE is the most considerable, a description of it, from the most ancient and the most modern writer on that subject, waving all intermediate ones, is here prefented to the reader. I take it for granted, that the passage cited by Diodorus, from Hecatæus, and before alluded to by Mr. Knight, is this identical temple of Stonehenge, or Choir Gaur, its ancient British name, meaning, according to Stukeley, the great cathedral, or grand choir; and surely no national church could ever better deserve that distinguished appellation.

Diodorus relates that there is an island to the north, or under the Bear, beyond the Celtæ, meaning Gaul, little inferior in magnitude to Sicily, in which the Hyperborean race, as the Greeks denominated all those nations that that were fituated north of the Streights of Hercules, adored Apollo, as the fupreme divinity. That in it was a magnificent confecrated grove with a circular temple, to which the priests of the island frequently resorted with their harps to chaunt the praises of Apollo, who, for the space of nineteen years, (the famous astronomical cycle of the Druids,) used to come and converse with them, and what is more remarkable, they could (as if, fays Rowland, they had the use of telescopes, and I believe they bad) shew the moon very near them, and discover therein mountains and heaps of caverns.* He describes the island as a fruitful and pleasant island, and relates that most of the inhabitants of it were priests and fongsters. He adds, that they had a language of their own; and that some Greeks had been in it and presented valuable gifts to their temple, with Greek inscriptions on them. and that one Abaris came from them to Greece, and contracted friendship with the Delians. He concludes with faying, that, over their facred town and temple, there prefided a fort of men called Boreadæ, (so denominated

[•] Diod. Sic. lib. ii. p. 130.

by the Grecians of that day,) who were their priests and rulers.

Such is the account given near two thoufand years ago of this celebrated temple, for it could mean no other, by Diodorus, the Sicilian, from a writer still prior in time. I shall now, for the benefit of those of my readers who may not be possessed of Stukeley and other expensive writers on the subject, insert the most recent, and, I believe, the most accurate, account of this grand but ruinous fabric extant; it is by Mr. Gough, in the new edition of Camden's Britannia.

- "STONEHENGE stands in the middle of a fine flat area, near the summit of a hill, and is inclosed with a circular double bank and ditch, near thirty feet broad, the vallum inwards; after crossing which, we ascend thirty yards before we reach the work.
- "The whole forms a circle of about one hundred and eight feet diameter, from out to out, confisting, when entire, of fixty stones, thirty upright and thirty imposts; of which remain only twenty-four upright, seventeen standing and seven down, three feet and a half asunder, and eight imposts.

" Eleven

" Eleven uprights have their five imposts on them by the grand entrance. These stones are from thirteen to twenty feet high. The lesser circle is somewhat more than eight feet from the infide of the outer one, and confifted of forty lesser stones, (the highest six feet,) of which only nineteen remain, and only eleven standing: the walk between these two circles is three hundred feet in circumference. adytum, or cell, is an oval, formed of ten stones, (from fixteen to twenty-two feet high,) in pairs, with imposts, which Dr. Stukeley calls trilithons, and above thirty feet high, rising in height as they go round, and each pair separate, and not connected as the outer pair; the highest eight feet. Within these are nineteen more smaller stones, of which only fix are standing. At the upper end of the adytum is an altar, a large flab of blue coarse marble, twenty inches thick, fixteen feet long, and four broad; pressed down by the weight of the vast stones that have fallen upon it. The whole number of stones, uprights, imposts, and altars, is exactly one hundred and forty. The stones are far from being artificial, but were, most probably, brought from those called the Grey Weathers, on Marlborough-Downs, fifteen fifteen or fixteen miles off; and, if tried with a tool, they appear of the same hardness, grain, and colour; generally reddish. The heads of oxen, deer, and other beasts, have been found in digging in and about Stonehenge; but the human bones our author speaks of only in the circumjacent barrows.

- "Dr. Stukeley, in 1723, dug on the infide of the altar, to a bed of solid chalk, mixed with flints. In the reign of Henry VIII. was found here a plate of tin, inscribed with many letters, but in so strange a character, that neither Sir Thomas Elliott, a learned antiquary, nor Mr. Lilly, master of St. Paul's school, could make them out. This plate, to the great loss of the learned world, was soon after lost.
- "Two stone pillars appear at the foot of the bank next the area in which the buildings stand; and those are answered by two spherical pits, at the foot of the said bank, one with a single bank of earth about it, and the other with a double bank, separated by a ditch.
- "There are three entrances from the plain to the structure, the most considerable of which is from the north-east; and at each of them were raised, on the outside of the trench, two huge stones, with two smaller within, parallel

to them. The avenues to Stonehenge was first observed by Mr. Aubrey. Dr. Stukeley sound that it had extended more than one thousand seven hundred feet down to the bottom of the valley, and was raised a little above the Downs, between two ditches. At the bottom it turns off to the right, or east, with a circular sweep, and then in a strait line goes up the hill between two groups of seven barrows each, called the King's Graves. The other branch points north-west, and enters the Cursus. This is half a mile north from Stonehenge, ten thousand seet, or two miles, long, inclosed by two ditches, three hundred and fifty feet assumer."

There is no occasion for my troubling the reader with any extended observations on these accounts of Stonehenge. Whoever has read, or may be inclined to read, my history of the origin of Oriental Architecture, as connected with the astronomical and mythological notions of the ancients, printed in the third volume of this work, and inserted there purposely to serve as his guide in the consideration of the form and ornaments of the sacred fabrics of Asia, during the farther investigation of the physical theology of the East, may see most of the

the affertions realized in the form and arrangement of this old Druid temple. For, in the first place, it is circular, as it is there proved all ancient temples to the Sun and Vesta, or elementary fire, invariably were; in the second place, the adytum, or sanctum sanctorum, is of an oval form, representing the mundane egg, after the manner that all those adyta, in which the facred fire perpetually blazed, the emblem of that vivacious invigorating energy, which, pervading the centre, warms and animates the whole universe, were constantly fabricated; in the third place, the fituation is fixed astronomically, as we shall make fully evident when we come to speak of Abury, the grand entrances both of this temple and that superb monument of antiquity being placed exactly north-east, as all the gates, or portals, of the ancient caverns and caverntemples were, especially those dedicated to Mithra, that is, the Sun, who rifes in the east: and who, in his northern course, sheds his most benign influences, for which reason the Indians exult in dying when the fun is to the north of the equator; in the fourth place, the number of stones and uprights, making together exactly fixty, plainly alludes to that peculiar

liar and prominent feature of Afiatic aftronomy, the SEXAGENARY CYCLE, being entirely of Indian and Chinese invention, and, as we shall hereafter shew the multiple of five revolutions of the planet Jupiter, while the number of stones forming the inner circle of the cove, being exactly nineteen, again displays to us the famous Metonic, or rather Indian, cycle, and that of thirty, repeatedly occurring, the celebrated age, or generation, of the Druids; fifthly, the temple, being uncovered, proves it to have been erected under impressions similar to those which animated the ancient Persians. who rejected the impious idea of confining the Deity, whose temple is earth and skies, within the scanty limits of an inclosed shrine, however magnificent, and therefore consequently, at all events, it must have been erected before the æra of Zoroaster, who flourished more than five hundred years before Christ, and who first covered in the Persian temples to save from extinction, by the violence of wind and rain, the confecrated fires; and, finally, the head and horns of oxen and other animals, found buried on the spot, prove that the sanguinary rites peculiar to the folar fuperstition, and more particularly the Gomedha, or bull facrifice

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facrifice of India, were actually practifed within the awful bounds of this hallowed circle.

ROLLDRICH, MEANING THE DRUIDS' WHEEL, OR CIRCLE, A SOLAR TEMPLE: THE WHEEL A SACRED EMBLEM IN INDIA, AND ALLUDING TO THE ROTA SOLIS.

THE circular temple next in fame and magnitude to Stonehenge is that called Roll-DRICH, near Chipping-Norton, in Oxfordshire. It is described by Stukeley, in his Abury, as an open temple of a circular form, made of stones set upright in the ground. The columns that compose the circle of this temple, like those of Stonehenge, are rough and unhewn, and the whole bears even stronger marks of age and decay than that venerable pile; for they appeared to our author to refemble worm-eaten wood, rather than stone. The very name of this ancient work, which is in the most ancient British dialect, indisputably proves it to be of Druid original. Camden calls this circle Rolle-rich stones, and it is remarkable, that, in a book reposited in the Exchequer, supposed by Dr. Stukeley to be DoomsdayDoomsday-Book, the name of the adjacent town is stated to be Rollendrich. Now the term Rollendrich, if rightly spelled, according to the ancient orthography, the Doctor contends should be written Rholdrwyg, which means the *Druids' wheel*, or circle.

Dr. Stukeley farther infers this to have been a Druid temple from the measure on which it is erected. In a letter which he received from Mr. Gale, dated Worcester, Aug. 19, 1719, after that gentleman had visited the antiquity at his request, he acquaints him, that the diameter of the circle was thirty-five yards. The Bishop of London also wrote him word, that the distance, at Stonehenge, from the entrance of the area to the temple itself was thirty-five yards; and that the diameter of Stonehenge itself was thirty-five yards. He supposes this admeasurement not to have been made with mathematical exactness; but observes, when we look into the comparative scale of English feet and cubits, we difcern fixty cubits of the Druids is the measure sought for. The diameter of the outer circle of Stonehenge and this circle at Rolldrich is exactly equal. The circle itself is composed of stones of various shapes and dimensions, set pretty near toge-Vol. VI. ther.

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ther. They are flattish, about sixteen inches thick. Originally there seems to have been fixty in number, at present there are twenty-two standing, sew exceeding four foot in height; but one in the very north point much higher than the rest, seven foot high, sive and a half broad. There was an entrance to it from the north-east, as is the case at Stone-henge.

To this account of Stukeley I have only to add, from Camden, that the country-people in the neighbourhood have a tradition, that these stones were once men, thus transformed: that in the number of stones composing this circle we find again the fexagenary cycle of the Asiatics, and that a wheel was equally a facred symbol in India as with the Druids; the figure of a very large wheel being cut deep on the rock in the very front of the Elephanta The wheel was probably an ancient emblem of astronomical cycles; or rather, as a very ingenious friend of mine, Mr. Frere, one of the authors of that extraordinary production of juvenile genius, the Eton Microcosm, judiciously intimated to me, on mentioning the fingular circumstance of a wheel occurring To often in the antiquities both of India and Britain,

Britain, it was the rota solis to which their peculiar superstition led those infatuated idolaters continually to allude. In truth, by that expression, the Latin writers meant the orb of the sun, rota pro solis orbe usurpatur, says Stephanus; as the Greeks used the word source.

I proceed to present the reader, from Mr. Gough's Camden, with an account of the serpentine temple of Abury; only premising a few general observations concerning THE ANCIENT SERPENT-WORSHIP.

It is impossible to say in what country the worship of serpents first originated.

The ferpent was probably a fymbol of the zanodaipar, or evil genius: and those whose fears led them to adore, by way of pacifying, the evil dæmon, erected to the serpent the first altar. In succeeding periods, its annual renewing of its skin, added to the great age to which it sometimes arrived, induced the primitive race to make it the symbol of immortative race to make it the symbol of immortative. Serpents biting their tails, or interwoven in rings, were thenceforwards their favourite symbols of vast astronomical cycles, of the zodiac, and sometimes of eternity itself. In this usage of the symbol we see it infolding

infolding all the statues of gods and deified rajahs in the sacred caverns of Salsette and Elephanta. Symbols also being the arbitrary fensible signs of intellectual ideas, in moral philosophy, the serpent, doubtless, from what they themselves observed of it and from the Mosaic tradition concerning its being more fubtle than any other animal, became the emblem of wisdom. In the ancient hieroglyphical alphabet, it forms the figure S. therefore, mythology and philosophy that, in my opinion, though I know that opinion is contrary to the judgement of Dr. Stukeley, which I shall hereafter give at large on this curious and interesting subject, that first exalted the ferpent, from being confidered as an evil dæmon, and a fmybol of evil, to the rank of a good dæmon, and to be regarded as the fymbol of a benign and perfect numen.

An ancient Phænician fragment, preserved for posterity in the OEdipus Ægyptiacus, fully explains the notion which the Egyptians and other Pagan nations entertained of this compound hieroglyphic, the GLOBE, WINGS, and SERPENT, which decorated the portals of their proudest temples. Jupiter, says the fragment, is an imagined sphere: from that sphere

fphere is produced a ferpent. The sphere shews the divine nature to be without beginning or end; the serpent his Word, which animates the world, and makes it prolific; his wings, the Spirit of God, that by its motion gives life to the whole mundane system.

This is farther confirmed by Stukeley in the following passage in his Abury.

We learn repeatedly from Sanchoniathon, Porphyry, and other ancient authors quoted by Eusebius in the Praparatio Evangelica, that the first sages of the world had just and true notions of the nature of the Deity, conformable to those of the Christians: that, in their hieroglyphic way of writing, they defigned the Deity and his mysterious nature by the facred figure of the circle, ferpent, and wings. Of these, the circle meant the Fountain of all Being; for, this being the most perfect and comprehensive of all geometrical figures, they defigned it for the symbol of the First and Supreme Being; whose resemblance we cannot find, whose centre is every where, and whose circumference is no where. The serpent symbolized the Son, for first divine emanation from the Supreme. This they L 3 called from the Hebrew, meaning the WORD. The wings symbolized that divine Person or Emanation from the former, commonly called Anima Mundi, but the Egyptians called him KNEPH, which in Hebrew signifies winged.

ABURY;

sels ni velazione

A MAGNIFICENT DRUIDICAL TEMPLE OF THE SERPENTINE KIND.

About a mile from Silbury-Hill is Abury, a stupendous monument of Druidism, first noticed by the inquisitive Mr. Aubrey, and since accurately surveyed and commented on by the indefatigable Dr. Stukeley. A village of that name being built within its circuit, and out of its stones; the gardens, orchards, and other inclosures, have both disfigured and concealed the great original plan.

The whole is environed with an immense circular rampart, or terrace, of earth, fixty feet broad; and a ditch within it, of the same breadth. The diameter is one thousand four hundred feet, the circumference four-thou-

fand eight-hundred feet, and the area inclosed twenty-two acres; through the centre of which runs the high road from Marlborough to Bath. The first circle of stones within this area is thirteen thousand feet diameter, and consists of one hundred stones, from sifteen to seventeen feet square, reduced, in 1722, to forty, of which, only seventeen were standing, and about forty-three feet asunder, measuring from the centre of each stone.

Within this great circle, were two leffer, each confisting of two concentric circles, the outermost of thirty, the inner of twelve; stones, of the same size, and at the same distance from each other as the others. fouthermost of these circular temples had a single stone in its centre twenty-one feet high: the northernmost a cell or kebla, formed of three stones, placed with an obtuse angle, towards each opening to the north-east; before which lay the altar, as at Stonehenge. Both these temples were almost entire about the year 1716; of the north temple, outer circle, only three stones remained standing in 1723, and fix down; of the fouth temple fourteen, half of them flanding. I will refer to a second

Appelos no rankle 40 Vilo mon do

In the fouth end of the line, connecting the centres of these two temples, is a middlefized stone, with a hole in it, perhaps to fasten the victims to. Numbers of these stones have been broken by burning, to build houses with; and others buried, to gain the ground they stood on for pasture. two original entrances to this stupendous work were from the fouth-east and the west, and each had an avenue of stones. of these, or Kennet-avenue, was a mile long, of one hundred and ninety stones on a side, of which remained seventy-two, in 1720, terminating at Overton-Hill, which overhangs the town of West Kennet, and on which was another double circle of forty, and eighteen other stones.

This was called, by the common people, the Sanctuary, and is described by Mr. Aubrey as a double circle of stones, four or five feet high; the diameter of the outer circle forty yards, and of the inner fifteen: many were fallen, and now there is not one left. He speaks of the wall leading to it, set with large stones, of which, he says, one side was nearly entire; the other side wanted a great many. He noticed only one avenue from Abury to Overton-

Overton-Hill, having no apprehension of the double curve it makes: but he erred in faying there was a circular ditch on Overton-Hill. From the west side of Abury goes another avenue to Beckampton, of the same length. and composed of the same number of stones. of which scarce any remain. On the north of this avenue was Longstones; a cove of three stones, facing the south-east; its back made of one of the stones of the avenue. stood on a little eminence, and served as a chapel. This stone and another flat one are each fixteen feet high and broad, and three and a half thick: the third carried off: Aubrey calls these the Devil's Quoits. Not far from them is Longstone Long-Barrow.

Dr. Stukeley calculated the total number of stones employed to form this stupendous work of Druidism, with its avenues and Overton-Temple, at six hundred and sifty. He supposed that altogether, when entire, it represented the Deity by a serpent and circle; the former represented by the two avenues, Overton-Temple being its head; the latter by the great work within the valuem at Abury.

At present, there only remains a few stones standing of this once magnificent and extraordinary

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fo constructed, and of such materials, as to warrant the supposition, that neither the ravages of time, nor the chance of incident, could so effectually have obliterated it for many ages to come.

Windmill-Hill, north of Abury, is encompassed with a circular trench, covered with
barrows; in one of which Dr. Stukeley found
an urn. The stones employed in all those
works, from fifty to seventy tons weight, are
the same as those at Stonehenge, brought
from Marlborough-Downs, where the country-people call them sarsens, from a Phænician word for a rock.

As this stupendous temple of Abury was first discovered and traced in all its directions by the indefatigable industry of Dr. Stukeley, in searching out the venerable remains of Druidical antiquity in Britain, and as that ingenious author has made the history both of serpents and serpentine temples the peculiar object of laborious inquiry in his second volume, it is but just that he should be permitted fully to explain his own sentiments on the subject, which he does in a more learned and impressive manner than I can pretend to

do for him. The quotation that follows is full as applicable to Asiatic as British antiquities, and remarkably corroborates not only most of the preceding affertions in this volume, but the general hypothesis on which this work and the Indian history proceeds.

DRACONTIA, OR SERPENTINE TEMPLES, AND THE NATURAL HISTORY OF SERPENTS CONSIDERED.

"Dracontia," fays our author, "was a name among the first learned nations, for the very ancient fort of temples, of which they could give no account, nor well explain their meaning upon it.

"Servius, on the second Æneid, writes, anguis is a proper name of the water-snake, sarpens of the land, draco of those belonging to temples.' This latter unavoidably brings to our mind the temples of the ancients kept by dragons, which we so frequently meet with in classical history. And we may well prefume they mean such temples as this of Abury, Dracontia.

" The

"'The ferpent,' says Maximus of Tyre, Dissert. 38. 'was the great symbol of the Disty to most nations, and, as such, was wor-shipped by the Indians.' The temples of old, made in the form of a serpent, were called, for that reason, Dracontia. The universality of this regard for serpents shews the high antiquity of the symbol, and that it was antediluvian.

" In truth, the first learning in the world consisted chiefly in symbols. The wisdom of the Chaldeans, Phænicians, Egyptians, Jews, of Zoroaster, Sanchoniathon, Pherecydes Syrus, Pythagoras, Socrates, Plato, of all the ancients, that is come to our hand, is fymbolic. 'It was the mode,' fays Serranus on Plato's Symposium, ' of the ancient philosophers, to represent truth by certain symbols and hidden images.' That the Druids studied in this enigmatic and symbolic way, appears from what we are writing upon; and Diogenes Laertius, in his proem, affirms it of them. Heranks them with the Magi, Chaldeans, and Gymnosophists, gives some of their doctrines, and makes them rather more ancient than the Egyptians, meaning the learned among the Egyptians. He says, 'the Gymnosophists Sui are

are descended of the Magi, and, some affirm, the Jews too.' He means the ancestors of the Jews, Abraham in particular. I believe, Druids, Chaldeans, Gymnosophists, and Egyptians, all descended, or rather disciples, of the Magi, who were the first and patriarchal priests after the flood. Sanchoniathon calls Shem, as D take it, by the name of Magus, as the prince of the order. He says the Egyptians veil their doctrines under the signre of beetles; snakes, birds, and other animals. And it feems to be the origin of animal-worship in Egypt.

"This symbol of the snake and circle, which is the picture of the temple of Abury, we see on innumerable Egyptian monuments." Always it holds the uppermost, the first and chief place; which shews its high dignity.

"Mr. Selden, upon the Arundel marbles, p. 133, fays, 'this figure in abbreviated writing, among the Greeks, fignifies $\Delta \alpha \iota \mu \omega \nu$, the Deity.' And Kircher, in his third tome, affirms the like of the Brachmans of the East-Indies.

"I can by no means admit it to be an Egyptian invention. The Egyptians took this, and hieroglyphic writing in general, from the common

common ancestors of mankind. This is sufficiently proved from the universality of the thing, reaching from China in the east, to Britain in the west, nay, and into America too.

"Nothing of so high account among the Chinese as the representation of dragons and serpents, as we see in all their pictures and utenfils; nay, the very stamps upon their ink. It is the genial banner of their empire. It means every thing that is facred among them. In Baron Vischer's elegant book of ancient architecture, Tab. XV. you have the picture of a Chinese triumphal arch (of which there are many in the city of Pekin); twice upon it is pictured, in a tablet over the front, a circle and two fnakes, as on Egyptian works. They adorn their temples, houses, habits, and every thing, with this figure, as a common prophylaxis. I apprehend it was from the beginning a facred amuletic character. It is carved several times on the cornishes of the temple (I take it so to be) of Persepolis, as we see in Sir John Chardin, Le Brun, Kæmpfer. Dragons were the Parthian enfigns, from whom the Romans, in later times, took them.

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them, and our Saxon ancestors from the Romans. It is a known verse in the Satyrist,

Pinge duos angues, facer est locus.

"If we consider the natural history of this animal, we must allow the serpent-kind, as to their outward appearance, to be among the most beautiful creatures in the world. The poets, those great masters of nature, are luxuriant in their descriptions of them, comparing them to the most glorious appearance in the universe, the rainbow.

Thus Virgil, Æneid V.

Cæruleæ cui terga notæ, maculosus & auro Squamam incendebat fulgor; ceu nubibus arcus Mille trahit varios, adverso sole colores.

Thus Lucan,

Serpitis aurato nitidi fulgore dracones.

Cristis præsignis & auro.

Igne micant oculi.

OVID MET. 3.

Of Cadmus's fnake.

"Hephæstion II. writes concerning the hydra of Hercules, that half his head was of gold.

I saw a snake of such exquisite beauty in Surrey. The motion and the appearance or bright

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bright golden colour, being so like to angelic feraphic beings, no wonder the ancients conceived so high a regard for the serpent, as to reckon it a most divine animal. There is a kind of them bred in Arabia and Africa, of a shining yellow colour, like brass, or burnished gold, which in motion reflects the fun-beams with inconceivable lustre. Some of them are faid to have wings, called Seraphs, Saraphs, Seraphim, mentioned Deut. xii. 15: this is the name given to the brazen ferpent; and equally to the angels and celeftial messengers, who are described of this appearance, in Scripture. So the cherubim that supported the Shechinah in Ezekiel i. 7, 'Sparkled like the colour of burnished brass.' The divine appearance between the candlesticks in Apocalypse i. 15. 'His feet were like to fine brass, as if they burned in a furnace.' Hence his ministers are called a flame of fire, Pfalm civ. 4.

"Secondly, consider the motion of a serpent; it is wonderful; performed without the help of legs, nay incomparably quicker than their kindred of the crocodile and lizard kind, which have four legs. It is swift, smooth, wavy, and beautiful. The ancients conceived it to be like the walking of the gods; whence the notion

tion of deified heroes with serpents seet. Pherecydes Syrus says, the gods have snakes seet:
meaning their motion was smooth and sweeping, without the alternate use of legs.

"Heliodorus III. speaks of the wavy motions of the gods, not by opening their seet, butwith a certain aerial force: it was called incessure. Non ambulanus, sed incedimus, says Seneca.

Ast ego, quæ divûm incedo regina, Jovisque

Et soror & conjux — Virg. Æn. 1.

Et vera incessu patuit dea.

"So the prophet Ezekiel describes the motion of the alate globes under the cherubims feet, as it ought to be understood, Ezek. i. 12. Sanchoniathon the Phænician in Euseb. lib. i. p. 7, writes, that the nature of serpents is divine. 'It is the most spiritual animal of all, and siery; it performs all its various motions by its spirit, without other organs; and much more of this kind to our purpose.' Jerem. xlvi. 22, the shout and the march of an army are compared to the motion of a serpent.

"Thirdly, from the form, pass we to the mind of the serpent, if we may be allowed so to talk. The wisdom of this creature is cele-Vol. VI. M brated

brated from the time of creation itself. Moses writes, it was more subtle than any other creature, Genes. iii. 1. Our Saviour recommends to the ministry to imitate the prudence of ferpents, as well as the innocence of doves: he makes it the symbol of Christian prudence. The Pfalmist compares the slyness of the wicked to the ferpent, which refuses to be charmed. Aristotle writes, that this animal is very crafty; but if we inquire into authors concerning this wisdom of the creature, nothing occurs fatisfactory: in truth it is figurative and fymbolical; meaning the charm of rhetoric and oratory, taken from the divided tongue of this creature, and more especially regarding the preachers of evangelical truths: διγλωσσια among the ancients was prudence. Our Saviour, in the forecited place of the Apocalypse, is represented with a two-edged sword in his mouth, meaning the efficacy of preaching. The people affirmed 'never man spake like this man:' and he fent the divine spirit of eloquence and languages upon his apostles, in the likeness of cloven tongues of fire.

" Servius on the fecond Æneid, fpeaking of the tongue of Laacoon's ferpent, fays,

Sibila lambebant linguis vibrantibus oraș

and

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and tells us, no creature moves its tongue with so much swiftness; so that it seems triple.

Says Ovid of Cadmus's Inake.

"The tongue was the only active arms of the apostles, as the bisid tongue of the serpent is its only weapon; and which, as the ancients thought, carried life and death with it.

"From the numerous and credible accounts I have feen, fnakes, I am persuaded, have a power of charming, by looking stedfastly with their fiery eyes on birds, mice, and such creatures as they prey upon. They are put into such an agony, as to run by degrees into their open mouth. Farther, snakes were thought to have an enchanting power, not only with their eyes, but likewise by whispering into the ears: for by that whispering they communicated a prophetic and divine spirit.

"All these put together, I take to be good reasons for the extraordinary veneration paid to this creature from all antiquity. Our oldest heathen writer, Sanchoniathon, says, the Phænicians called it agathodæmon, the good angel. Epies, the Phænician, in Eusebius, pronounces

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it a most divine animal. Maximus of Tyre, before quoted, writes, that the serpent was the great symbol of the Deity in most nations, even among the Indians."*

Of this latter affertion I have already, in the preceding volumes of Indian Antiquity, given innumerable proofs; and the reader may consult, as additional proof, the engraving, in the fifth, of Hindoos adoring and feeding ferpents. Dr. Stukeley concludes by observing: " No wonder, then, from fuch reasons as these, and others as obvious, the ancients concluded this to be the most divine of all animals, and thought it the aptest symbol of the Nous ereps, the other, or fecond, mind of Plato, whom they affirmed to be the Creator of the world. I know not whether this notion of theirs did not farther contribute to it; they thought these animals brought forth by the mouth. They have too no limbs, or members for action, but exert their mighty power by the mouth only; whence Horus Apollo says, 'a serpent is the fymbol of the mouth."

A very curious remain of this kind of temple, and one, that, when resident at Woodford,

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^{*} Stukeley's Abury, p. 56, et feq.

in Essex, I examined myself, is that on Nave-stock-Common, and not the least ingenious part of the Doctor's account of it is his derivation of the name. "In the last year of my travels," says he, "I found another of these alate temples on Navestock-Common, in Essex, which seems to be of a later date than the other, and when perhaps the original doctrine concerning these theological speculations was somewhat forgotten; because this temple is situate on a dry common, not near water; but the figure is the very same.

"What is exceedingly remarkable, as to this noble antiquity on Navestock-Common, is, that the name should remain to this time, and which confirms all that we said before concerning them, as to their name and meaning: for Navestock must have been so called from some old and remarkable tree, probably an oak, upon or by the CNEPH, or winged temple, Navestock. Our English word knave, which had no ill meaning at first, signifies the same thing, alatus, impiger; the Latin word gnavus the very same: and knap, a Teutonic word, the like: all from the Hebrew original.

"I doubt not, but there are more such temples in the Britannic isles, called Knaves-Cas-M 3 tles tles or the like. One I remember to have feen, on a great heathy common, by the Roman Watling-Street, in Staffordshire. And Mr. Toland takes notice of a winged temple of our Druids in the Hebrid or Hyperborean islands, Shetland."

Although the disfigured plan and ruined flate of this vast Druidical fane forbid us to speak concerning it with all that preciseness and decision necessary to the establishment of a new hypothesis; yet my conjecture of the stones being placed in number and order confonant to ideas founded in astronomy, borders nearly upon certainty, when we confider the various corroborating circumstances in the preceding account. The remarkable numbers 100, 60, 30, and 12, constantly occurring, unavoidably bring to our recollection the great periods of astronomical theology; the century, the sexagenary cycle of India, the thirty years which formed the Druid age, the twelve figns of the zodiac, and the number of years in which the revolutions of Saturn are performed; of which, multiplied by five, it has been previously observed, the sexagenary cycle was originally fabricated. Thus the great circle consists, we are told, of 100 stones; the whole temple

temple is furrounded with a circular rampart, 60 feet broad, and with a ditch of exactly the fame breadth, and of the two concentric circles, inclosed within the greater, the outermost consists of 30, the inner of 12 stones. Dr. Stukeley computes that the two avenues, the one leading to Kennet, the other to Beckhampton, were each formed of 190 stones! but, as of these so very few remained for him to form a just computation by, we may fairly, upon the ground of analogy, and as having an equal reference to astronomical calculation, state the number of each to have been, 180, which, doubled, gives the total amount of the days of the ancient year, before it was reformed by the superior correctness of modern affronomers. That the Orientals actually did regulate their defigns in architecture by fuch fanciful rules of mensuration is evident from what Diodorus Siculus tells us, that the walls of Babylon were built by Semiramis, of the extent of 360 furlongs, to mark the number of days of the ancient year. He adds, she employed in that vast undertaking no less than two millions of men, and one stadium was erected every day, till the whole was completed within the period of that M 4

that year, the length of which the measure of their circumference was intended to reprefent.* Nor did they confine their astronomical allusions to architecture only, for they entered largely into their religious and civil ordinances, fince the fame author informs us, that, at the tomb of Osiris, during the days of lamentation, the priests, who were appointed to bewail his death, daily poured out libations of milk from 360 vases,+ to denote the days of the primitive year, used in the reign of that monarch; and, again, that, at Acanthe, near Memphis, on the Lybian fide of the Nile, it was an ancient immemorial custom, on a particular festival, for 360 priests to fetch water from the Nile, in as many vessels, from that river, and then to pour the water into a great receiver perforated at the bottom; by which ceremony they represented both the days of the ancient year and the ceaseless lapse of irrevocable time. ‡ Another still more remarkable story of this kind is recorded by Herodotus, who acquaints us, that Cyrus, in his expedi-

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^{*} Diod. Sicul. p. 120.

⁺ Ibid. lib. i. p. 26. Rhodomanni.

[‡] Ibidem, p. 209.

tion against Babylon, in order to render the river Gyndes fordable for his army, as well as from a curious species of revenge for the loss of one of the consecrated horses of the sun, drowned in the previous attempt to pass that stream, divided it into 360 channels, the number of the degrees through which the sun himfelf passes in his progress through the zodiac.*

These are all plain vestiges of the solar devotion, as well as proofs of its universal influence which spread from the plains of Babylon, where it originated under Belus, to the rocks and forests of Britain, first tenanted by his posterity the Belidæ, that primæval colony who instituted the Bealtine, and who, according to Mr. Bryant's and my own supposition, were the fabricators of Stonehenge and the defigners of Abury. Dr. Stukeley, also, we see, estimates the whole number of stones interspersed throughout the stupendous work of Abury to be 650; but, for the reasons alleged above, no great violence will be offered to probability if we state them as 600, which is the precise period afferted by Josephus, from the traditions of his nation, to have been

* Herodoti, lib.i. p. 189.

known

known to the ante-diluvians, and stated by him to have been their annus magnus.* this cycle of fix hundred years, which Bailli terms lunifolar, Josephus is supposed to have meant the period wherein the fun and moon return to the same situation in the heavens in which they were at the commencement of that cycle; and it is of this cycle that the great astronomer Cassini, cited in Long, speaks with fuch rapture, for he observes, that this grand period, of which no intimation is found in the remaining monuments of any other nation, except the ancient Hebrews, is the finest period that ever was invented, fince it brings out the folar year more exactly than that of Hipparchus and Ptolemy, and the lunar month within about one fecond of what it is determined by modern astronomers. If, adds Cassini, the ante-diluvians had such a period of 600 years, they must have known the motions of the fun and moon more accurately than they were known some ages after the flood.+

But to resume the consideration of other interesting and important matters suggested

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[•] Josephi Antiq. Judaic. lib. i. cap. 3.

⁺ Long's Aftronomy, vol. ii. p. 653.

by the survey of Abury. When the reader recollects all that has been remarked in the preceding volumes concerning the northern afpects of the GATES of the ancient caverns and temples, it will be no small corroboration of an hypothesis, which would establish these immense structures as the work of an Oriental colony, that the grand entrance to this temple, not less than Stonehenge, is towards the north-east quarter; for, as Stukeley has very judiciously remarked, ever fince the world began, in building temples, or places of religious worship, men have been studious in settling them according to the quarters of the heavens; fince they confidered the world as the general temple, or house of God, and that all particular temples should be regulated according to that idea. The east naturally claims a prerogative, where the fun and all the planets and stars arise: the east, therefore, they considered as the face and front of the universal temple. The north was confidered as the right hand, and great power of the world; the fouth as the left hand, or leffer power. For, when the fun approaches the northern region, passing over the vernal equinox, he brings plenty, and the fulness of his benign influences: when he returns

turns to the fouth, the face of nature languishes in its winter attire; therefore they thought the polar region not only highest, but of most eminence and effect. This observation, he afterwards adds, immediately applies to our purpose, for we cannot but observe, that the whole of Abury temple, if due regard be had to its figure, has its upper part to the north, and its face, if we may so speak, towards the east. In that direction the serpent bends; that way the cove of the northern temple opens; that way the cove of Beckhampton avenue; that way the face of Stonehenge temple looks. So that the Druids appear to have the same notions with the other wife men of the Oriental ancients.* It has been observed, that the two wings of Abury are formed of two temples inclosed within the great circular temple; the one of these is fituated on the north, and the other on the fouth, on which our antiquary remarks: it should seem that the northern temple had the pre-eminence, and was the more facred of the two: for, as the cove was the adytum of that temple, so the whole northern temple may be

esteemed

^{*} See Stukeley's Abury, p. 51.

esteemed as the adytum of the whole work, the southern being as the body of it.*

These temples, however, were not only thus placed with reference to ancient theological notions, strictly Oriental; but their stations were fixed with mathematical precision to correspond with the four cardinal points. Dr. Stukeley is of opinion, that, in thus fixing their situation, they used a compass, or magnetic instrument, and he has most ingeniously attempted to ascertain, from the variation of that needle, the exact æra of the construction of either building. He found the variation in all the works about Stonehenge to be between fix and feven degrees to the east of the north, and at 1 Abury to be about ten degrees the fame way, and that as precifely as possible. This circumstance, he observes, must necessarily excite attention; as, from this regular variation in both places, there is less reason to suppose it accidental. The whole work was manifestly intended to be fet on the cardinal points of the heavens, but they all vary one way, and exactly the fame quantity. Thus Kennet-avenue enters the town of Abury ten degrees north of

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^{*} See Stukeley's Abury, p. 51.

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the north-west point, which north-west point was the Druids' purpose. The neck of the ferpent going down from Overton-Hill regards Silbury precisely, and their intent was that it should be full west; but it is ten degrees north of the west. The meridian line of the whole work passes from Silbury-Hill to the centre of the temple at Abury: this varies ten degrees to the east from the north point. The stupendous cove in the northern temple opens ten degrees east of north-east; whereas it was their purpose that it should exactly correspond with north-east. The diameter of the great circle of the great stones at Abury, on which the north and fouth temples are built, was defigned'to have been fet on the line from northwest to south-east, but it verges ten degreesnorthward; and so it is of all other particulars.* The refult of his observations on this point is, that, arguing upon Halley's hypothesis, that an entire revolution of the circle is performed in about the space of 700 years, and, judging from the different effect of the weather upon the respective structures, the great diversity in the manner of the works,

* Abury, p. 52.

added

added to many other confiderations, we may conclude Abury to have been erected at least 700 years prior in time to Stonehenge. But if we take two entire revolutions of that circle, it will then have been erected 1400 years previous to the other, which will carry us back to the time of Abraham, near two thoufand years before Christ, about which time the Doctor thinks the Tyrian Hercules led the first Phoenician colony to Britain. To all this accumulation of conjectural evidence by Stukeley, I shall add, that the magnet is mentioned, by the most ancient classical writers, under the name of Lapis Herachus, in allusion to its afferted inventor Hercules; and Dr. Hyde enables me to affirm, that the Chaldeans and Arabians have immemorially made use of it, to guide them over the vast deferts that overspread their respective countries.* According to the Chinese records, also, the Emperor Ching-Vang, above a thousand years before Christ, presented the ambassadors of the king of Cochin-China with a species of magnetic index, which, fays Martinius, "certe monstrabat iter, five terra illud, five mari facientibus."

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[·] See Hyde de Religione Veterum Persarum, p. 189.

The Chinese, he adds, call this instrument CHINAN; a name by which they at this day denominate the mariner's compass.* In respect to the Indians, there can be little doubt of their having been as early acquainted with the magnet, as the earliest of those nations whom their gems and rich manufactures allured to their coast, and whose shores they themselves visited in return; and that they were, in the remotest æras, engaged not less than the Phœnicians in projects of distant commerce and navigation. which cannot be extensively carried on without a knowledge of the magnet's powers. I have this strong and curious evidence to produce; for, in the most venerable of their sacred law-tracts, the Institutes of Menu, that is, the first, or Swayambhuva Menu, supposed by the Indians to have been revealed by that primæval legislator many millions of years ago, and to which, in fact, after mature deliberation, Sir William Jones cannot affign a less ancient date than one thousand or fifteen hundred years before the Christian æra, but, which is, probably, of a far superior traditional antiquity, there is a curious passage on

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^{*} Martinius, Hist. Sin. p. 106.

the legal interest of money, and the limited rate of it in different cases, "with an exception in regard to adventures at sea."*

Future investigation, and our increasing knowledge relative to the early growth of the sciences in India, will probably demonstrate the fact which is here only supposed. The channel, by which they might have very eafily became acquainted with its wonderful properties, must be instantly apparent to every one who reflects on the innumerable benefits, which the discovery of so inestimable a treafure has bestowed upon mankind. In fact, the stupendous acquisition may, in my opinion, be safely assigned to divine Revelation vouchsafed to Noah, that it might be an unerring guide to that holy and favoured patriarch when inclosed in the dark bosom of the ark. Nor is it at all improbable that the Deity, by whose express direction that ark was fabricated, should impart, at the same time, the knowledge of a magnetical index to direct its devious course, amidst the boundless darkness that reigned around, and the united fury of the conflicting elements. The momentous

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[•] See vol. i. p. 429, and vol. ii. p. 371.

fecret thus intrusted to the patriarch might be transmitted down to his immediate posterity, and by them inviolably preserved, till the period arrived when the enlarged population and increasing commerce of mankind rendered its divulgement necessary, towards fulfilling the benevolent designs of that Providence who constituted man a social and an inquisitive being.

An inquiry has already in part been instituted into the real country and æra in which Hercules flourished, and I have shewn, that neither the Hercules of Tyre, nor yet of Egypt, were the first whose actions are recorded on the page of history. There was, we have feen, a Chaldean (that is, an Indian) Hercules, or, as we have found him before denominated, an Hercules Belus, prior in time to all who bore the name; and upon that fact, which I hope to establish beyond all doubt, depends a great part of the novel system which I mean to pursue in the course of the Indian History; for every man has his system before him when he commences a great historical undertaking; and, if the system be founded on a proper basis, that is, of facts recorded in profane, compared with and strengthened

strengthened by those of sacred, history, it is to be hoped that such system merits, and will find, support.

For the information alluded to we are indebted to a celebrated and eloquent Pagan writer, whose account, in this instance, wonderfully corroborates the true fystem of facred the ological history. It is Cicero, who, after enumerating the respective genealogies of all those who bore the name of Hercules in the ancient world, acquaints us, that "the Indian Hercules is denominated Belus;"* and I hope, hereafter. in the regular history of ancient India, to make still more and more evident what has already been afferted, that to this renowned Affyrian and Indian conqueror, who, under the name of Bali, engrosses three of the Indian Avatars, is to be ascribed the greatest part of the numer, rous exploits of that celebrated personage in different quarters of the world; exploits of which the memory was deeply rooted, and continued for a long time to flourish, in every colony that emigrated from Asia, deeply blended with their history and interwoven with their mythology. He was, as before observed, and the fact ought to be perpetually

* Cicero De Natura Deorum, lib. iii.

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borne in mind, constantly compared, for the splendour of his actions and the extent of his power, to the sun that illuminates and feems to govern the world; and the name of Baal, and Bel, was equally applied to both the monarch and the orb. Of these aftertions there cannot, in any nation, be given more striking and direct proofs than have already been brought forward respecting their prevalence in Britain: here, we have seen the sacred fires in honour of Belus once flamed over the whole island. Mr. Toland, in that part of his history of the Druids which has been so often referred to and in part extracted, but never before inserted at length, gives the following account of these festival fires. "On May-eve the Druids made prodigious fires on these carns, which, being every one in fight of some other, could not but afford a glorious show over a whole nation. These fires were in honour of Beal, or Bealan, Latinized by the Roman writers into Belenus, by which name the Gauls and their colonies understood the Sun: and, therefore, to this hour, the first day of May is, by the ab-original Irish, called LA BEALTEINE, or the day of Belen's fire. May-day is likewise called . called LA BEALTEINE by the Highlanders of Scotland, who are no contemptible part of the Celtic offspring. So it is in the Isle of Man: and, in Armoric, a priest is still called Belee, or the servant of Bel, and the priesthood Belegieth."*

This Indian Hercules, therefore, this enterprizing god-king Belus, is the true prototype of him who was worshipped at Tyre, and was the great promoter of commerce and navigation; of him who was adored as the vanquisher of Busiris in Egypt, and whose twelve labours are the symbols of the Sun toiling through the twelve figns of the zodiac; of him, in short, whose complicated history was in after-ages, with all its extravagances, adopted by the fabulous Greeks. One of the most curious and remarkable of the mythologic feats of Hercules was his failing in a golden cup, which Apollo, or the Sun, had given him, to the coasts of Spain, where he fet up the pillars that bear his name. On this passage Macrobius remarks, Ego autem arbitror non POCULO Herculem maria transvectum, sed navigio cui scypho nomen fuit.+ From

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[•] See Toland's History of the Druids, p. 70.

[†] Vide Macrobii Saturnalia, lib. v. cap. 21, p. 522, edit. oct. 1670.

this fable of the golden cup, which was probably no more than a gilded vessel, we may both collect in what manner the celebrated feats of Hercules are to be understood, and arrive at an important historical truth concealed under the allegory, that Hercules, or at least a chieftain, or colony, assuming the name of their fovereign, a circumstance not unusual in the earliest periods of time, visited Europe, and transported thither the theological rites and civil customs of the Oriental world: but how they could perform with fafety and fuccess so distant and hazardous a voyage, without the aid of the magnetic needle to conduct them, must be left to the consideration of those of my readers who may reject the hypothesis above submitted to them.

It ought not to be concealed, however, that by some mythologists, and especially by the author of some letters, on this subject, to Sir Hildebrand Jacob, this mysterious vase, given by Apollo to Hercules, is contended to have been itself the mariner's compass-box, by which, not in which, he sailed over the vast ocean. The same author contends, that the image of Jupiter Hammon, whose Libyan temple, according to Herodotus, took its rise from

from Phoenicia, was nothing more than a magnet, which was carried about by the priests, when the oracle was consulted, in a golden scypbus: that the famous golden fleeces was nothing else: whence, he says, the ship which carried it is faid to have been fensible; and possessed of the gift of speech; and, finally, that the high authority of Homer may be adduced to corroborate the conjecture, that the Phæacians, a people renowned for nautical science, had the knowledge of the magnet; for he observes, either that certain lines in the 8th book of the Odyssey, describing the Phæacians veffels as instinct with soul, and gliding, without a pilot, through the pathless ocean to their place of destination, allude to the attractive power of the magnet, or else are utterly unintelligible.* Whatfoever truth there may be in this statement, it is evident, from the extensive intercourse anciently carried on between nations inhabiting opposite parts of the globe, where the stars, peculiar to their own native region, could no longer afford them the means of safe navigation, that the important discovery must be of far more ancient date

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See an Inquiry into the Patriarchal and Druidical Religion, by the Rew. Mr. Cooke, p. 27.

than the year of our Lord 1260, to which it is generally affigned, and by the means of Marco Polo, a man famous for his travels into the East.

Concerning the Sexagenary Cycle, of which fo much has been faid above, I find among my papers a short essay, originally written for a respectable literary journal, which I shall beg the reader's permission to insert in this place, as it will tend greatly to elucidate many parts of this volume. The proof of the afferted fact, of the year anciently beginning in the Indian sign Cartic, or the Bull, here adduced from the sirst authority of India, is not the least important part of it.

ON THE SEXAGENARY CYCLE OF INDIA AND CHINA.

THE Hindoo astronomy, as it is gradually unfolded to us, opens an astonishing prospect for the contemplation of the European philo-sopher. It is a system of perpetual cycles, extending upwards from their KREESHNA-PAKSHA, or cycle of the bright balf of the moon, (that is, in plain English, a fortnight,)

to millions of revolving years. Every deity of India, at least all their Dii majores, have their allotted periods; and Brahma, Veeshnu, and Seeva, preside over their respective Calpas, Manwantaras, and Yugs.

Of these varied and multiform cycles, none are more important, or sew more universally made use of, than the sexagenary cycle.

In this astronomy there is one fast which has often excited the wonder of those who are well acquainted with the haughty and felffufficient character of the Indian Brahmin. who confiders his country as the original feat and fource of learning, whence it has flowed, by various channels, to the other states and empires of the world, and who would therefore never condescend to borrow either the principles of his religion, or the elements of his astronomy, from the mileeches, or infidels, as he denominates the inhabitants of all foreign kingdoms. It is the very fingular circumstance of all the days in the week being named, in the Sanscreet language, after the fame planets to which they were anciently affigned by the Greeks and Romans. For the fatisfaction of the reader, I shall exhibit those Sanscreet names, as they stand arranged in the Preface to Mr. Halhed's Code of Gentoo Laws: — Audeeta War, Solis dies; Same War, Luna dies; Mungel War, Martis dies; Boodh War, Mercurii dies; Breehafputi War, Jovis dies; Sookra War, Veneris dies; Sanischer War, Saturni dies.* These planets are thus denominated, and are affigned to the particular days mentioned in the oldest books of Sansscreet astronomy, especially in the Surya Siddhanta. The deities presiding over these planets have each their cycle, and the sexage nary cycle in question is that of Breehaspati, or Jupiter.

Every one, who is at all acquainted with aftronomy, knows that Jupiter performs his revolution round the fun in the space of twelve years, that is, speaking generally; for, in fact, to adepts in that science, it is known that his revolution is performed in eleven years, three hundred and thirteen days, and eight hours. That the Hindoos should have so accurately ascertained the period of his revolution at the distant zera, when the Surya Siddhanta, their oldest astronomical treatise, was written, is a surprising proof of their

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^{*} Halhed's Code, p. 41.

early and diligent observation of the heavenly bodies. That they bad so far ascertained it, is evident from this famous cycle's being nothing more than the amount of five of that planet's revolutions; for 12, multiplied by 5, produces the cycle of 60. The Chinese also adopted, and, in the most remote periods of their empire, calculated the reigns of their emperors by the fexagenary cycle. Martinius, in his Sinicæ Historiæ, p. 30, 31, has given us a long account of the sexagenary cycle of China, the invention of which he acquaints us the Chinese annals attribute to Hoang-ti, the fuccessor of Fo-hi; and, if we allow with some writers, Fo-hi to be Noah, and Hoangti his fon Ham, we shall arrive at once at the titmost point of post-diluvian chronology. Without, however, allowing these romantic claims, fo common with all Oriental nations, we may fafely admit that it is one of the most ancient cycles formed by the Chinese astronomers, fince the whole history of the country is regulated by this important period. As for instance, the same author, speaking of the birth of Con-fut-su, or, as we incorrectly call him, Confucius, states that event to have taken place in the twenty-first year of the Emperor Emperor Ling-Vang, who flourished in the thirty-first great sexagenary cycle. P. 137.

The use of this grand cycle, in Oriental astronomy, seems to be, that by it the vast periods of their exaggerated chronology are more easily computed than they can be by fingle years; which, in many instances, as in that of the Calpa or period of Brahma, and the aggregate of years included in it, defies the power of human calculation. Sir William Jones, in p. 115 of the first volume of Afiatic Researches, having reduced to arithmetical numeration one of these periods, that of Rudra, found it amount to the enormous fum of two quadrillions five hundred and ninety-two thousand millions of lunar years. There is no end to calculation when a nation adopts fuch a wild and preposterous hypothesis, and computes the great mass of time by the bright and dark balves of the moon's orb.

It begins now to be generally known in Europe, that the four great Hindoo periods, called the Yugs, and of which the aggregate amount is 4,320,000, are purely astronomical, being formed on the basis of the precession of the equinoxes, and the fantastical notion of virtue

virtue decreasing during those four ages of gold, filver, copper, and earth, in the proportion of 4, 3, 2, and 1. To attempt, therefore, to trace back the cycle in question beyond the present, or Cali, age, although the ante-diluvian period of 600 years, mentioned by Josephus, and called, by the old Chaldeans, Neros, is afferted by M. Sonnerat to be only the multiple of this of 60, would be useless. It may gratify curiosity, however, to compare the age of the Cali Yug with the number of years elapsed in it, according to the fexagenary cycle; and, in doing fo, it is impossible to avoid remarking how comparatively nigh the number of years of this Yug, allowed by the Brahmins to have already revolved, approaches to the Mosaic chronology, especially if we admit that of the Samaritan or Septuagint. On the 12th of April, 1701, 4892 years of that æra were expired, and 82 cycles of Jupiter had revolved; that year being the 56th of the 83d Breehaspati period. Each of these cycles, and each of the years of which the cycles are composed, has, as is usual in the Hindoo mythology, a numen or deity prefiding over it, the names of which are respectively enumerated in the volume of Asiatic

atic Researches before cited. There is, in that volume, an observation relative to the year, both of the Sun and Jupiter, anciently opening in Cartic, which is the Pleiades perfonished, too curious and important to be omitted, since it reminds me of a classical passage which I learned at a time when the planets ingrossed very little of my time and attention, but which taught us that the sun once opened the year in the constellation of the Bull.

Candidus auratis *operit* cum cornibus annum Taurus.

When Taurus, rifing with refulgent horn, In golden splendour pour'd the vernal morn.

"It may be remarked, that in the foregoing arrangement of the Breebaspati years, Cartic is always placed the first in the cycle of twelve; and, since it is a main principle of the Hindoo astronomy to commence the planetary motions, which are the measures of time, from the same point of the ecliptic, it may thence be inferred, that there was a time when the Hindoo solar year, as well as the Breebaspati cycle of twelve, began with the sun's arrival, in

in or near the Nacsbatra Critica, or the Bull, on whose neck the Pleiades are placed in the celestial sphere."

Before I conclude these strictures on Abury, another circumstance of striking affinity between the Scythians and old Britons should by no means be omitted.

In my parallel of the ancient Scythian and Indian superstitions, I have repeatedly mentioned the custom of interring with the venerated kings, most beloved in each country. their favourite ministers, women, horses, arms, and accourrements, In opening Silbury-Hill, together with the body of the inhumed monarch, the workmen found a bridle, a folidbody of rust, which Dr. Stukeley purchased on the spot, and of which he has given an engraving. In other barrows, described in page 45, they found, together with the body, other pieces of armour, spear-heads of iron, knives. fwords, gold rings, and fragments of golden They likewise dug up several ornaments. large beads of amber, fome of glass enamelled: some were of a white colour, others blue and azure. Now rosaries of beads form a constant appendage to the Brahmin hermits or Yogee penitents, which they count with as much

much enraptured zeal as any enthusiast of the Roman church, which imported this at the same time as it did the other superstitions of Asia. The introduction of beads into religious ceremonies arose from the attachment of the Asiatics, like the old Pythagoreans, to sacred and mystical numbers.

Concerning this bridle, it should be farther observed, Dr. Stukeley affirms, that it was the bridle of an ancient British chariot, and hence presumes, that the first British settlers, being an Eastern colony, learned to fabricate and make use of that kind of carriage from the Egyptians and other Eastern nations, who, even so early as the time of Joseph, made use of chariots both in war and peace. He adds, that they are mentioned in the wars carried on by Joshua against the Canaanites as being used by the latter, and that the British chariots have ever been samous, since the Romans in the height of their luxury and glory made use of British chariots.

Esseda calatis siste Britanna jugis,

On the contrary, I contend, that, as the Indians have ever made use of war-chariots, with a numerous train of which Porus attacked

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tacked Alexander, and as the Scythians were accustomed to transport themselves and families, over the vast plains of Tartary, in rude carriages of similar construction, if a foreign origin must be assigned them, they might full as probably, at least, have derived them from that quarter as from Egypt.

THE ANGUINUM, OR SERPENT-EGG OF THE DRUIDS.

A SERPENT was always an important fymbol in the ancient mysteries; a living one we have feen, in a former volume, was thrown into the bosom of the candidate for initiation in those of Mithras: it was esteemed an emblem of immortality, from the great age it sometimes arrives at, and of regeneration, from the annual shedding of its skin. In the mysterious rites of Druidism it was a symbol not less in request; the anguinum was a charm of wonderful power, and constantly carried, suspended from the neck, on the bosom of the Druid. Pliny has thus described its formation. Angues innumeri æstate convoluti, salivis faucium Vol. VI. corporumque

corporumque spumis artifici complexu glomerantur; anguinum appellatur. Druidæ fibilis id dicunt in sublime jactari, sagogue oportere intercipi, ne tellurem attingat: profugere raptorem equo: serpentes enim insequi, donec arceantur amnis alicujus interventu.* An infinite number of fnakes entwined together, in the heat of fummer; roll themselves into a mass; and, from the faliva issuing from their jaws, and the fweat and froth of their bodies, that egg is engendered which is called anguinum. the violent hiffing of these serpents, the egg is forced aloft into the air, and the person destined to secure it must catch it in the fagus, or holy vestment, before it reaches the ground, or otherwise its virtue is lost. It is necessary that he should be mounted on a fwift horse, for the serpents will pursue the ravisher, with envenomed rage, to the brink of the first river, whose waters alone stop their pursuit. He adds, that this ceremony of gaining the anguinum is only to be undertaken at a particular period of the moon; that this egg was thought to render the possessor fortunate in every cause which he

undertook

[·] Plinii Nat. Hist. lib. xxix. cap. 3.

undertook and triumphant over all his adversaries; and, of his own knowledge, he afferts, that a Roman knight, who was agitating a suit at law, and addicted to Druidism, was put to death by Claudius Cæsar for entering the forum with the anguinum in his bosom, under the persuasion that it would influence the judges to give a decision in his favour.

Toland informs us that the ovum anguinum is, in British, called glain-neidr, or ferpent of glass; and, in truth, the whole relation above inserted was no more than a fabricated tale of the Druids to impose on the vulgar.

Their boast, by this charm, to controul the current of destiny, added to their pretended skill in magic, served to bind down, in the indissoluble bonds of superstition, their abject British vassals, not less than the horrible incantations, with consecrated grass, of the Brahmins, tended to overawe and oppress the more timid race of India. Mr. Camden gives the following account of the remains of this superstition in Britain. "In most parts of Wales, throughout all Scotland, and in Cornwall, we find it a common opinion of the vulgar,

vulgar, that, about midsummer-eve, (though in the time they do not all agree,) it is usual for fnakes to meet in companies; and that, by joining heads together and hissing, a kind of bubble is formed, which the rest, by continual hissing, blow on, till it passes quite through the body, and then it immediately hardens, and resembles a glass ring, which whoever finds [as fome old women and children are persuaded] shall prosper in all his undertakings. The rings thus generated are called Gleineu Nadroeth; in English, snakestones. They are small glass amulets, commonly about half as wide as our finger-rings, but much thicker, of a green colour usually, though fometimes blue and waved with red and white."*

To these serpent-stones, formed in imitation of the imagined anguinum, as numerous and wonderful virtues were attributed as to the samous cobra-stone of the Brahmins, an ancient article of commerce at Surat. Mr. Toland, in addition, informs us, that they were worn about the Druid, as a species of magical gem; that they were in fashion either

* Comden's Britannia, p. 815.

perfectly

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perfectly spherical, or in the figure of a lentil, and were generally made of chrystal and agate.*

I cannot conclude this article without obferving, that Mr. Mason, in his Caractacus, alluding to this rite of Druidism, has very poetically and accurately detailed the preceding relation of Pliny.

> ---- But tell me yet, From the grot of charms and spells, Where our matron fister dwells, Brennus, has thy holy hand Safely brought the Druid-wand, And the potent adder-stone, Gender'd 'fore th'autumnal moon; When, in undulating twine, The foaming snakes prolific join; When they hiss, and when they bear Their wond'rous egg aloof in air: Thence, before to earth it fall, The Druid, in his hallow'd pall, Receives the prize, And instant flies, Follow'd by th'envenom'd brood, 'Till he cross the chrystal flood.

* See Toland's History of the Druids, vol. i. p. 60.

O 3

LUSTRATIONS

LUSTRATIONS OF THE INDIANS AND OLD BRITONS.

THERE were many other evident relics difperfed over all the Gentile world of the religion and facred rites of the Brahmins; nor is the Christian world, at this day, entirely free from them, especially that portion of it in which the Roman Catholic religion flourishes. At the entrance of all the Eastern temples were placed vessels filled with consecrated water, with which the votaries at their entrance besprinkled themselves; and this custom, there can scarcely be a doubt, originated in India, where large tanks for the ablution of a people, whose laws of unfathomable antiquity are not less immutable than those of the Medes and Persians, to this day remain invariably placed in the front of their pagodas, without previous ablution in which the Hindoo dares not approach the altar of his God. The antiquity, therefore, and universality of this practice, as well as that of using consecrated beads in their worship of the Deity,

Deity, common to the Brahmins not less than the Druids, apparently demonstrate from what primæval fource the votaries of modern fuperstition, in Rome, have borrowed this Asiatic rite. One incentive of these innumerable prefcribed ablutions was, doubtless, to obtain invigorated health in a relaxing clime; but the first origin is to be found in the precepts of religion; for, as they beheld that frequent fubmersion in water washed away the stains and leprous diseases of the body, so from analogy they conceived that purifying element might gradually absterge the impurities of the polluted foul. I ventured, in a former chapter of this work, when relating the countless ablutions of the Brahmins, to hazard an affertion, and hereafter I shall endeavour fully to prove it, that there was another incentive to ablution to be found in traditions handed down in the family of Noah relative to the purgation and purification which the earth underwent from the waters of the deluge. Spencer, in the following passage, speaking of the Jewish purifications by water, is decidedly of this opinion: Hanc ablutionem arbitror fuisse inter instituta vetera orta post MAGNUM

MAGNUM DILUVIUM IN MEMORIA AQUA PUR-GATI MUNDI.**

We have feen what innumerable vafes and basons for the purifying water there were exfodiated in the ancient caverns of Salsette and Elephanta; and both the period of their fabrication and the customs of the Indians. immemorially established, must prevent any idea being entertained that they were borrowed from any other people. Now that the Druids invariably used similar rites is evident from the infinite number of hollow vafes, or rockbasons, as Dr. Borlase, in his chapter on the subject calls them, continually found sculptured upon or adjoining to all the Carns, mercurial heaps, of the old Druids. Some of these rock-basons which he describes are of confiderable depth and breadth; are placed in regular and successive order one below the other on the loftiest eminences of their craggy temples, far beyond the reach of defilement, to catch, as it fell, the hallowed dew for lustration, and to receive the pure white flakes of virgin snow, which, refined by the chemical hand of nature, de-

fcended

^{*} Vide Spencer de Leg. Heb. p. 1099.

scended from that heaven to which their prayers were addressed, unpolluted by those earthy particles for ever blended with the water immediately derived from ponds and rivers. "I have observed," says Dr. Borlase, " so many of those rock-basons in the Carns of Cornwall, that I may venture to fay there is hardly any confiderable group of rocks in these western parts which has not more or less of them. There are two forts of them fome have lips or channels to them, others have none. The shape of them is not uniform: fome are quite irregular; fome are oval; and fome are exactly circular. They are frequently found on the tops of Logan, or rocking-stones, and should therefore seem to have some affinity to, and be subservient to, the same species of superstition." *

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^{*} Borlase's Antiquities of Cornwall, p. 242.

THE TRANSMIGRATION OF THE DRUIDS THE LEADING FEATURE IN THE BRAHMIN RELIGION: AND, ACCORDING TO BOTH, THE WORLD WAS TO BE DESTROYED BY A GENERAL CONFLAGRATION.

IN that ancient book, the Institutes of Menu, compiled, at least, many centuries before Pythagoras was born, there is a long chapter confisting of one hundred and twentyfix flocas or stanzas, on TRANSMIGRATION AND FINAL BEATITUDE, and that chapter was perhaps the first public promulgation of this dogma in Asia. The doctrine delivered in it is exceedingly curious, and by no means limits the journey of the metempsychosis to human and bestial forms: it imprisons the wandering foul in vegetables, and plunges it into the depths of the mineral world. All beings emane from the great spirit: "From the substance of that Supreme Spirit are diffused, like sparks from fire, innumerable vital spirits, which perpetually give motion to creatures exalted and base." Stanza 15. These, as they first proceeded from the great Brahme, after

after traverfing the universe, return to and are finally absorbed in him, as their centre. The Deity is there represented as punishing only to purify his creatures; not to gratify his vengeance, but for the purposes of example and reform. Nature itself exhibits only one vast field of purgatory for the classes of existence: eternal torments for temporal offences are utterly disclaimed. The meaning and refult of the whole feem to be fummed up in the 73d and 81st stanzas. "As far as vital fouls, addicted to fenfuality, indulge themselves in forbidden pleasures, even to the same degree shall the acuteness of their senses be raised in their future bodies, that they may endure analagous pains." "With whatever disposition of mind a man shall perform, in this life, any act religious or moral, in a future body, endued with the same quality, shall he receive his retribution." On the subject of FINAL BEATITUDE there occur, towards the close, some most sublime stanzas on the omnipotence and omnipresence of the divine Spirit, worthy of the true religion itself, which I shall notice hereafter, when more particularly examining that venerable fragment, concluding my remarks at present with selecting the the following one more immediately connected with our subject. "Equally perceiving the supreme soul in all beings, and all beings in the supreme soul, the transmigrator sacrifices his own spirit by fixing it on the spirit of God, and thus approaches the nature of that sole divinity, who shines by his own effulgence." Stanza 91.

The foundation of this fanciful doctrine feems to have been a firm persuasion that the foul of man is formed of a substance not perishable like the body, but flourishing with unimpaired vigour through all the viciffitudes of existence. The support and general propagation of it among the philosophers of Asia was an anxious desire to account for the innumerable evils incident to life, and to vindicate Providence in its government of the world. The first opinion they undoubtedly had from the Noachidæ, of whom Menu, if not Noah himself disguised by mythology, ranked in the very first class, The second originated in the speculations of fanciful metaphylicians, who, fond of diving into mysteries beyond the grasp of man's limited comprehension, erected upon the sublime and solid basis of the soul's immortality an airy superstructure,

superstructure, by no means naturally connected with it, or affording any just groundsfor the support of it. It has been afferted, that Pythagoras did not propagate the notion of the descent of the transmigrating soul into any frame below the human. But the antiquity and high authority of this recently-difcovered volume should, I conceive, have fufficient weight with antiquaries to induce them to conclude, that Pythagoras, who doubtless derived this, with many other fingular doctrines, from the Indian Brachmans, did not confine the wandering of the foul to the human frame alone: but inculcated its occafional descent into brutal forms. greatly strengthens the affertion of Cæsar, the truth of which has been warmly contested, that the Druids, who probably had this doctrine from the same primæval source, notwithstanding some inconsistences to which fuch an opinion gives birth, not only believedin the transmigration, but adopted the doctrine in all the latitude in which the original inventors admitted it.

The final destruction of the existing world by fire was, also, not less a tenet of the Brahmins than we have proved it was of the Indians;

dians; for, says Cæsar, conditum mundum credebant, et aliquando igni periturum. Among both fects, probably, the doctrine was originally drawn from the same source, traditions derived from Revelation, relative to the apokatastasis of nature, prevalent in the family of the Noachidæ. In truth, this is the only rational mode of accounting for a dogma fo univerfally received in the Oriental and Grecian schools; for the disciples of Zoroaster and Plato alike believed in the general conflagration; and the doctrine is confirmed by the folemn and decided voice of Scripture. The Chaldeans, or ancient Magi, taught that it would happen when all the planets met in conjunction in the fign Cancer, in the same manner as the great deluge had taken place, when, according to their astronomical books, the planets were in conjunction in that of Capricorn.* The Stoics, who, also, believed in the destruction of the globe by the alternate violence of water and fire, conceived, that the grand catastrophe by fire would take place at the end of the annus magnus, or 36,000 common years; in which space a com-

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^{*} Berosus in Senecæ Nat. Quest. lib.iii. cap. 29.

plete revolution of the zodiac, by the preceffion of the equinoctial points, after the fupposed rate of a degree in one hundred years. would be effected. The conceptions on this head both of the Oriental and Greek philosophers, according to Horus Apollo, were elegantly fymbolized by the history of the phœnix, a bird fabled to be a native of the East and the only one of its species capable of existing at one period. At the expiration of the GREAT YEAR this bird is feigned regularly to appear, a prelude of its approaching diffolution, and, having formed itself a nest of the most fragrant spices, to deposit it on the altar of the fun at Heliopolis, where, being immediately fet on fire by the rays of that fun, she, for fome time, hovers over it, then plunges into the flaming bed, and is confumed together with it. From its ashes another phænix springs, young, vigorous, and beautiful, the expressive emblem of regenerated nature and a new-formed world. It was in allufion to this tradition of a general conflagration, in the opinion of Porphyry who relates the fact, that the Egyptians, annually, at the fummer folftice, marked their houses, flocks, trees, with red; and he imputes to the fame cause the institution of the celebrated pyrric,

or fire-dance, of the ancients. The facred fires which the Druids kindled at the folfitial period were probably the remains of ceremonies intended to perpetuate this tradition; and the knowledge of its powerful effect, and final destination to consume the ignited globe, might be one source of the veneration paid to this element by the ancient Sabian idolaters.

THE DRUIDS, LIKE THE BRAHMINS, CONSTITU-TED THE FIRST ORDER OF NOBILITY, WERE THE HEREDITARY COUNSELLORS OF THE KING, AND THE SOLE EDUCATORS OF YOUTH.

BY the same usurped power which the Brahmins of India assume over the inferior casts of India, did the Druids bow down beneath their arbitrary yoke not only the sovereigns, but the people, of Britain. As they professed to derive their power immediately from the Deity, with whom they equally assected an intimate communion; to the Deity alone, and the superior of their order, they acknowledged their obedience was due. The remains of palaces, magnificent, but rude,

- Porphyry, lib.i. p. 94.

which

which Rowland and other investigators of Druid remains have discovered in Anglesea, Cornwall, and their other principal stations, in these islands, evince, that, in the depth of their woody recesses, they did not wholly refide in damp and dreary caverns; but enjoyed all the conveniences, and occasionally appeared in all the splendor, known in those barbarous ages. Dion Chrysostom informs us, that they administered justice sitting on thrones of gold, were fplendidly lodged and fumptuoully entertained by the monarchs whose armies, in war, they animated to the field, and of whose counsels, in peace, they were the hereditary directors.* Those caverns were their fure retreats in time of danger, and the facred adyta in which the most mysterious rites of their religion were performed. There, in solitude and shade, they instructed the noble youth whose education was solely intrusted to their care, a circumstance which gave them an unlimited fway over the inclinations of their pupils, and bound them from their infancy in the chains of prejudice; there they unfolded the arcana of their philosophy; there they

* Dion Chrysostom, p. 538, edit. Paris.

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practifed

practifed those dreadful rites of magic to which their Brahmin ancestors were so grossly addicted in the Median mountains and the fubterraneous temples of India; boasting that they could draw down into their caverns the genii of the orbs, and controul the operations of aftonished nature. In these incantations a variety of confecrated graffes was used by the Brahmins of India, particularly those called Cusa and Darbbha, and the profound veneration of the Druids for the VERVAINE, to be cautiously gathered at the rise of the dog-star; of the facred wonder-working MISLETOE, to be cut off the parent-oak, by a white-robed Druid, with a golden hook, when the moon was only fix days old; of the selago, or hysfop, and the samolus, or marsh-wort. gathered only by the holy hands of the priesthood, with many fuperstitious coremonies, as well as their use of them in their mystical ritual, are too well known to be infifted on here. and are only mentioned to mark the confonance of the opinions and practice of the two nations in this respect.

As the Brahmins never revealed to foreigners the awful fecrets of their religion, fo the Druids inviolably concealed from all but their

their own fect the profound mysteries of their devotion. One of the most solemn vows in initiation was probably the preservation of these mysteries in inviolable secrecy. That they must in the countries where they originally resided have had tablets, if not books, in which as well their religious tenets as their astronomical calculations were recorded, is evident: but various causes may be easily conceived as. operating either to their being left behind, or their destruction in the course of a tedious and perilous migration; and, living among strangers, the renovation of them was not necessary. They thought traditional and oral knowledge fufficient, and it certainly favoured the opinion of their doctrines being divinely inspired.

As the young Brahmins passed a very long pupillage in the houses of their preceptors, so did the scholars of the Druids: not less than twenty years were esteemed an adequate period for the full initiation into their abstructe and complicated lore; and it is remarkable, that, as the most ancient Sanscreet treatises in literature are written in stanzas, denominated slocas, so all the religion and philosophical doctrines of the Druids were wrapt up in mystical verses, which the student committed to memory, and their

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their poetical compositions of this kind are computed to have amounted to 20,000 in number. Singular as this custom of propagating the principles of knowledge may appear, it has the fanction of names so eminent in science as Pythagoras and Socrates, who taught their scholars after this manner, and left no written documents behind them. This practice indeed of inculcating science memoriter, and by verses, feems very generally to have prevailed in the remotest ages; for the most ancient and celebrated Law-Treatise of India is entitled Menumsriti, or Institutes remembered from Menu. the first great legislator of the country, which were afterwards collected into a book, and will be largely commented on in the fecond part of this volume. The preface to this work afferts it to have been originally composed in a bundred thousand slocas, which the sage Sumati, son of Bhrigu, for greater ease to the human race, reduced to four thousand. The Vedas, also, it should be remembered, are a metrical composition, and, when properly read, according to Mr. Halhed, are chanted after the same manner that the Jews, in their fynagogues, from immemorial custom, chant the Pentateuch.*

What

^{*} Preface to the Gentoo Code, p. 26.

What sciences, in particular, slourished among the Druids besides astronomy, which they feem to have carried to wonderful perfection for those periods; moral philosophy, whose fublime and awful precepts they incessantly inculcated on their disciples; music, whose solemn melody, breathed from innumerable harps, during the public worship, rouzed to transports of enthusiasm the votaries of that animated superstition; mechanics, which enabled them to elevate to fuch furprizing heights. the immense masses of stone discoursed of above; and botany, to which a race constantly refiding in woods, and accustomed to use plants and herbs of a supposed mysterious efficacy in the rites of divination, could be no strangers: - what sciences, I say, besides these, they might have cultivated, the impenetrable darkness, in which they delighted to bury themselves and their pursuits, must ever prevent our knowing. An acquaintance with geography is indeed allowed them by Cæsar; but, to a race so entirely secluded from the rest of the habitable globe, little more of that science could be known than what they might learn from the Phænician and Grecian navigators, who fuccessively visited the coast of Britain. P 3

Ignorant of its external surface, however, the deep and productive mines, with which the island abounded, afforded that inquisitive race a noble opportunity of contemplating its internal wonders, and advancing far in the knowledge of minerals, metals, gems, and other productions of the fubterraneous world. Of geometrical knowledge, also, no inconsiderable portion may fairly be assigned them, as being so intimately connected with astronomy, and the mechanical arts in which they had evidently made so great a proficiency. Dr. Borlase, indeed, from his own personal investigation, greatly confirms this latter position; for, on one of the rocks of the famous Karnbre-Hill, in Cornwall, he discovered a very regular elliptical bason, ten inches by fourteen, which, he observes, could hardly be so exactly delineated, without stationing the two focuses of the ellipsis mathematically; a strong evidence that not only the faid bason was made by the Druids, but that they understood the principles of geometry.*

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[•] Borlase's Antiquities of Cornwall, p. 119.

THE STAFF OF BRAHMINS, THE ORIENTAL TIARA, AND WHITE VESTMENTS OF THE PRIESTS OF MITHRA, WERE ALL IMMEMORIALLY USED BY THE DRUIDS OF BRIFTAIN.

THE Druids invariably carried a facred wand, or staff, in their hands, which is one of the discriminating symbols by which the Brahmin order is known; and, being constantly used by them in their rites of magic, probably came from them, to be employed in fimilar ceremonies throughout all the East. The rod, or caduceus, of Hermes, the western Mercury, intwined with serpents, that sacred Asiatic fymbol for ever occurring in the Mithriac mysteries, and the sacred thyrsi used by the frantic bacchanals in the mysteries of Isis, have, I conceive, a very near relation to the Brahmin staff and the Druid wand. The Perfian youths, who, on the pompous procession described by Curtius, attended the horses of the fun, were arrayed in white garments, and bore in their hands golden rods, or wands, point-

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This explanation immediately points out its allusion in the ancient mysteries which were all relics of the original solar superstition. It symbolized the solar beam that explores Nature's most secret depths, and penetrates into the abys of matter. Diviners, therefore, in their losty pretensions to be acquainted with her arcana, and, as if conversant with her mysterious operations, in their nocturnal orgies, waved on high the solar wand, in circles imitative of the revolution of his orb.

I would by no means be understood as applying this observation to the rod of Moses, by which Aaron wrought before the hardened Pharoah the prodigies of Egypt. It unfortunately happens, that, in this as in many other delicate instances which have before occurred, the Mosaic and the Pagan customs, generally established in Asia, very nearly correspond, and it might be thought that I, therefore, ought to consider the latter as corruptions of the former; but the hypothesis which I have adopted, added to the allowed high antiquity of the Indian nation, does not always admit

of of

^{*} See Quinti Curtii, lib. iii. cap. 3.

of my doing this. It should be remembered. also, that the Deity, out of his indulgence to the weakness of human nature, permitted the Hebrew nation to retain in their ritual a few of the facred symbols of their Asiatic neighbours; as, for instance, that of fire, sanctifying the fymbol by its adoption into a nobler and purer system of devotion. In truth, the rod of Moses was originally the pastoral wand with which he guided his flock; from those flocks he was taken to be the pastor of Israel: with that simple instrument he was enabled, by Jehovah, to awe the fovereign of Egypt, and to confound the magicians opposed to him. Those magicians, indeed, had their rods. fuch as we have described peculiar to their. iniquitous profession; but that of Moses, by annihilating the others, proved at once the superiority of its origin, and the irresistible might of him under whose auspices it was employed. Aaron, also, had his peculiar rod, that bloffomed, was folemnly deposited in the ark, and, on all folemn occasions, ornamented the hand of the high priest of the Jewish na-The heads of all the tribes had also their respective rods; but these are to be confidered rather as badges of distinction than as facred

sered symbols; for virga is frequently in Scripture used in the sense of sceptre.

The Druids, also, wore on their heads a tiara of linen, very much refembling, in form, that of the Brahmins, and which, in the preeeding volume, it has been observed, consisted of a piece of muslin, many yards in length; and, as every thing in their worship had an allusion to the sun and planets, rolled round in form of a turban, to imitate the convolutions of the orbs. The Egyptian priests performing the facrifice to the fun, represented in one of the plates of the second volume of this work, wear on their heads this tiara, which rises in the form of a cone; in Asiatic mythology, a constant emblem of the sun. The high priest of the Jewish nation wore a tiara of this kind, which was called cidaris; but, to prevent any mistaken allusion to the solar worship, a golden plate was placed on the front of it, on which was conspicuously engraven the awful name of Jehovah. These parts of the ancient dress and ornaments of the Asiatic priests are visible in the crosser and mitre of the episcopal order of Europe, now fanctified by their use in the service of that God who made the fun and all the host of heaven.

White

White being univerfally esteemed in Asia to be the emblem of purity, that purity which a thousand ablutions and ceremonial purgations were intended to inculcate, as well for the fake of religion as of health, in regions bordering on the torrid zone, in vestments of that colour, the priests of India, Persia, and Egypt, constantly officiated at the altar of Deity. The fagus, or holy vesture, of the sacrificing Druid was also invariably white; their oracular horses, and the steers devoted to the sacrificial knife, were obliged to be of the same colour. The greater part of the habiliments of the Jewish high-priest consisted of the finest white linen; the dress of the highest class of the sacerdotal order of this day is white; nor can any vesture be imagined more proper for man when he approaches the spotless shrine of a Deity, whose eyes are too pure to behold iniquity. Before we quit this fubject, it is worthy of obfervation, that, although we know the facred tunic of the Druids, when engaged in religious rites, was white; yet it is not in our power exactly to ascertain the composition of that tunic; it was most probably of linen, but that article they could only have from the East, where it was cultivated, and formed a branch of

of lucrative commerce in the earliest ages. The manufacture of linen was not introduced into Britain till the time of the Romans, and that valuable commodity, therefore, must have been brought hither by the Phænician traders in exchange for the tin of the Cassiterides. Of that commerce I shall speak extensively in the succeeding section.

THE FORMER THE PECULIAR CHARAC-TERISTIC SYMBOL OF BRAHMA, THE LAT-TER THAT OF SEEVA, WERE CONSPICUOUS ORNAMENTS OF THE SACERDOTAL ORDER OF ANCIENT BRITAIN.

ONE of the four hands of the Indian deity Brahma, in all pictures and sculptures, is invariably decorated with a circle, which has already been declared to be the mystic emblem of revolving cycles, and often of the grand round of eternity itself.* The circular form in which the Druids delighted to erect not only

^{*} See Sonnerat's Voyages, p. 11, Calcutta, Octavo edition.
their

their facred but other edifices, their circular mode of adoration, the tremendous circle used in magical incantation, and so essentially necessary to the designs of the sorcerer, that, without that circle duly described, no success attended his most elaborate efforts to conjure up from Erebus the subject dæmon; — all these, added to various other facts before-enumerated, demonstrate their frequent use of and supreme veneration for this Indian symbol.

On the ancient gold coins found in the year 1749, in the middle of the ridge of Karnbre-Hill, in Cornwall, thus denominated from the multitude of karns still visible upon it, coins, which, I conceive, are fatisfactorily proved by Dr. Borlase to bear the stamp of the rude British mint in times coæval with the Druid power in these islands, among other symbols immediately referring to the Sabian worship of that fect, the circle, or wheel, constantly occurs, together with round balls, strung in rows, like beads or pearls, and rings pierced like the discus, which exhibits the exact resemblance of the chakra of Brahma. The more prominent object on all is the horse, which Dr. Borlase, impressed with the idea of the fighting-chariots of the old Britons, takes to be the horse attached to the Esseda, designated by the wheel. But as these coins were sound on so secluded and consecrated a spot, and have every mark of remote antiquity, I am of opinion, that the horse of the sun was intended by it, that sun of whose orb the wheel and the circle were the unvarying symbols; and I am the rather inclined to indulge this opinion, on account of the occurrence of another symbol upon these coins, certainly much more connected with the rites of Druidism than the din of battle. It is the LUNAR CRESCENT, on the consideration of which, as a symbol of that order, I must now enter.

The crescent constantly adorns the image of Seeva, when accurately designed by the Indian artist. It is engraved on his forehead, and is probably intended to be allusive to his mythological union in character with Chandra, the moon personissed. Now Seeva's more general appellation in India is Eswara, and the remarkable similitude as well between the names as characters of Osiris and Isis, of Egypt, and the Eswara and Isa, of India, has been repeatedly pointed out. Is generally bears on her head the lunar crescent, and the Greeks, imitating the Egyptians, placed that crescent

crescent on the head of Diana, particularly her whom they denominated Diana Lucifera. Various statues of the latter deities may be feen thus ornamented in Mountfaucon's Antiquities. Eswara, however, it should be obferved in the complicated Indian mythology, is not married to Isa, in her lunar capacity, as Ofiris is to Isis, in the Egyptian; for Chandra shines to the Indians a male divinity; Seeva, or Eswara, means properly the solar fire, that fire which destroys and regenerates, that fire a vale of which he constantly bears in one of his hands; and the lunar light being but the reflection of the sun's, in that manner the character of the latter is, as it were, necessarily absorbed in the mythological character of the former. On this account Seeva is decorated with the crescent; and hence, in the Bhagvat Geeta, he is called "the God with the crescent at Benares."*

The Druids, on their great festivals, wore on their garments, or carried in their hands, a crescent of gold, silver, or other metal. This ornament has long glittered on the banners of the East, the auspicious emblem of rising

* Bhagvat Geeta, p. 81.

power

power and expanding glory; but, in that fignification, the crescent could scarcely be applicable to the sequestered Druids. The use of it, therefore, can only be considered as a custom, originating in a system of astronomical superstition, like that to which the Brahmins and the Druids were devoted, who attended with equal anxiety to the viciflitudes of that orb; and by her motions regulated their most sacred festivals. It was when the moon was fix days old, according to Pliny,* that the latter marched in folemn procession to gather the hallowed misletoe; and it was from that precise period, every thirtieth year, that they began to count anew the months and years which formed their celebrated cycle of that duration. In the fecond volume of Mountfaucon's Antiquities, opposite page 276, there is a sculpture that remarkably illustrates this relation of Pliny. It is on a bass-relief, found at Autun, and represents the Archimagus, bearing the sceptre, as head of his order, and crowned with a garland of oaken leaves, with another Druid, not thus decorated, approaching him, and displaying in his right hand a crescent of

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Plinii Nat. Hist. lib. xxv. cap. 44.

A NEAR VIEW conlight. PLATE IL



To the Rev. Samuel Parr, L! Plate, in grateful acknowledgment of Science Lost.

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the fize of the moon, when fix days old. By the aspect and posture of the latter, he seems to be some Druid astronomer, in the act of informing his chief that the day of that high sessivity was arrived, on which either the misletoe was to be cut, or the new period to commence its revolution. On the Karnbre coins it repeatedly occurs, and sometimes two or three crescents are seen on the same coin.

I cannot conclude this final head of the extensive parallel which has now been drawn between the Druid and Indian superstitions, without observing that there is another kind of circle repeatedly occurring among the stone monuments of the Druids, that of the ellipsis, which can scarcely fail of impressing the mind, that seriously reflects on all the proofs of their wisdom previously enumerated, that they were so far advanced in astronomy as to have known the elliptical courses described, in their revolution, by the heavenly bodies, a circumstance not suspected in modern Europe till the time of the ingenious Kepler, who was as great a geometrician as an astronomer. The hypothesis of Kepler, however, was by no means at first generally believed by astronomers, till Casfini and Newton, by their still profounder re-Vol. VI. fearches

fearches in philosophy, placed the matter beyond the possibility of doubt. This their veneration for the astronomical symbol of the crescent may be also regarded as an additional proof that those crescent-like temples, in Anglesea and Orkney, which some have mistaken for amphitheatres, were really temples to the moon.

THE GENERAL RESULT OF THE PRECEDING OBSERVATIONS.

FROM the evidence above submitted to the candid reader, he will be able to form his own judgement concerning the truth or futility of the original proposition with which I set out, viz. that a colony of priests, professing the Brahmin religion, and educated in the great school of Babylon, actually emigrated, in the most early periods, from Asia, with the Japhetic tribes who established themselves in Europe. To state precisely the exact æra of that migration is impossible at this distance of time; but, from the evident mixture of the leading principles and peculiar rites of the Sabian idolatry with those of the pure patriarchal

chal theology, it must have happened after the period in which Belus and his descendants, the great corruptors of the Noachic system of faith, had introduced those idolatries among their subjects of the Greater Asia.

The Indians, at that time, formed a diffinguished part of the Persian empire; for we have seen that their first dynasty, commencing under an iniquitous prince, named Bali, destroyed by the bursting of a marble pillar at the very moment he was blaspheming his Maker, fate on the throne of Persia before the whole nation croffed the Indus, never to return. This general migration probably took place immediately after that fatal event, which so forcibly points to us, under the veil of Eastern mythology, the destruction of Babel, and the consequent dispersion. The Hebrew chronology places the dispersion, or, at least, the birth of Peleg, (at which period the Scriptures affert that event to have taken place,) in the 101st year after the flood; but, as that period feems too early in post-diluvian annals for so great an increase of the human species to have taken place, as must be supposed on the hypothesis of a vast empire formed, and Asia overflowing with numbers, and as we may without

impiety embrace a system of chronology less perplexing to that hypothesis, so many learned men have adopted the Samaritan chronology, which computes that event to have taken place about the 400th year after the flood. By this rational mode of computation, a variety of difficulties, otherwise scarcely surmountable, are got over. The remembrance of the grand diffolution might by that time have grown more faint in their minds, and their horrors fo far abated, that they may, with less outrage to probability, be supposed capable of erecting a tower to brave the power of the Deity, who. in his wrath, had deluged the former guilt, world; and the earth itself, by the powerful action of the fun and winds during this extended interval, better prepared in every re; gion to receive the swarming multitudes that were now descending from the overcharged plains of Shinar and all the mountainous regions of Asia to the abodes destined for them by Providence. In adopting this, which appears to me the more plaufible system, I would by no means be understood to intimate that no partial migration towards the countries nearer the eastern limits of the world, previously to the grand dispersion, might have taken place: on the

the contrary, I am very much inclined to believe that Noah himself, who lived 350 years after the flood, attended by the more virtuous of his descendants, disgusted with the increafing idolatries of Shinar, did actually retire from that polluted plain, and lay the foundation of the great empires of India and China, as contended for by Raleigh and Shuckford; though their hypothesis of the ark, resting on the Indian Caucasus, cannot, consistently with the facred writings, be maintained. One of my principal inducements for this belief is, that the pious patriarch is by this means removed from all participation in the counsels of that nefarious race, who, after the fignal deliverance of their great ancestor from a watery grave, dared, by that erection of Babel, so atrociously to insult the power and providence of the Most High. But this subject, and others connected with it, will be hereafter discussed more at large in their proper place, the Indian History; and are here only noticed as preparatory to future strictures in this volume on the Institutes of Menu, which, in the main, may be confidered as the work of that primæval legislator.

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The sum, therefore, of the preceding remarks is, that the great outlines of the Brahmin creed of faith, confisting of an heterogeneous mixture of the principles of the true and false religion, were formed in the school of Chaldaa before they left Shinar: that after the dispersion, pursuing the decrees of Providence in the peopling of the world, they migrated from Persia, and the country in its neighbourhood, to regions still nearer the rifing fun; bearing with them, across the Indus, the new-formed code of religious and political laws, afterwards enlarged, purified, and accommodated to their fituation in a different region; a region in which innumerable ablutions and other local fuperstitions were indifpensable: that they were still divided into many fects bearing the name of Brahma, Veeshnu, Seeva, and Buddha; and that Thibet, the highest and most northern region of India, was peopled with Brahmins of the fect of the lastmentioned holy personage, who appears from indubitable evidence to be the Mercury of the west: that these priests spread themselves widely through the northern regions of Asia, even to Siberia itself; and, gradually mingling with the great body of the Celtic tribes who purfued

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fued their journey to the extremity of Europe, finally established the Druid, that is, Brahmin, system of superstition in ancient Britain.

This, I contend, was the first Oriental colony fettled in these islands. In the course of ages, their extensive commerce led hither Phœnician colonies in quest of that tin which they exchanged for the fine linen and rich gems of India. The Phænicians, whose ancestors were educated in the same original school with the Brahmins, suffered not the ardour of Asiatic superstition to subside, but engrafted upon it the worship of the Tyrian Hercules, and other rites of that ancient nation. How aftonishingly great that commerce was, and of what nature those rites were, are points which will be amply discussed in the Dissertation that follows.

End of the Dissertation on the Origin of the Druids.

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INDIAN ANTIQUITIES:

V O L. VL

PART II.

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A

DISSERTATION

ON THE

COMMERCE CARRIED ON IN VERY REMOTE AGES

BY THE

PHŒNICIANS, CARTHAGINIANS, AND GREEKS,

WITH THE

BRITISH ISLANDS,

FOR THEIR

ANCIENT STAPLE OF TIN;

AND ON THEIR

EXTENSIVE BARTER OF THAT COMMODITY FOR THOSE OF THE INDIAN CONTINENT:

THE WHOLE CONFIRMED BY

EXTRACTS FROM THE INSTITUTES OF MENU.

AND INTERSPERSED WITH

STRICTURES ON THE ORIGIN AND PROGRESS

OP

NAVIGATION

AND

SHIP-BUILDING IN THE EAST,

DISSERTATION, &c.

GENERAL ARGUMENT.

The Hercules of Tyre probably the same Personage as the Chaldean and Indian Belus.— Hercules, under the Name of Melicartus, afferted by the Ancients to have first explored the Cassiterides for Tin. - And the Name BE-LERIUM, in Consequence, given by the ancient Geographers to the western Extremity of Cornwall. - A retrospective Survey taken of the Sciences and Commerce for which Phænicia was most celebrated. - Some Account of their Trade to Spain, and the immense Riches anciently obtained from the Mines of that Country. - The Bullion of Spain transported in Phænician Vessels by Way of the Mediterranean and Red Seas to India. -Their Communication from Gadira, the modern Cadiz.

Cadiz, with the British Islands .- An Account of the Tin-Mines of Cornwall, of the different Kinds of Ore found there by the Miners, and their Method of smelting and refining it; with a History of the Tin-Trade, during those most ancient Periods. - Its Importance to the Country at large infifted on, and the Policy and Wisdom of the Court of Directors in reviving this interesting Branch of British Commerce with India, stated as the just Subject of national Applause. - The successive Voyages undertaken by the Carthaginians and Greeks to Britain, on the same Errand, decailed. — The principal Articles that formed the ancient Commerce of Egypt and Perha enumerated. - The Origin and gradual Progress of the Science of Navigation and Ship-Building in Afia.

I SHALL commence this Differtation and the observations which I have to offer relative to the ancient commerce carried on between the natives of this island and those of Asia, but more particularly the Phænicians,

Phænicians, by informing the reader, that the oldest classical appellation which we have for the extreme western point of Cornwall, called by us the Land's End, is BELE-RIUM, mispelt indeed Bolerium in Ptolemy's Geography,* but restored to its right orthography by Diodorus Siculus,+ who writes the word Belerium. Ancient British writers of the first eminence translate this word, " the Promontory of Hercules," and both the original term and the translation bring back to our recollection that first Assyrian and Indian Belus, who, a celebrated Pagan writer, even the wife Cicero himself, affirms, was the true Hercules. Now that Hercules was the founder of Tyre; and the Tyrians themselves, in the time of Herodotus, 1 boasted that their city was then two thousand three hundred years old, which account, though exaggerated by a few centuries, is much nearer the truth than the vaunted origin affigned to most of the great cities of Asia, and is in a great degree confonant with the hypothesis here contended for.

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[·] See Ptolomæi Geograph. lib. iii. cap. 3.

⁺ Diod. Sic. lib. v. cap. 22.

I Ibid. lib. ii. cap. 43.

That hypothesis is still more strongly confirmed by a retrospective glance on the mode of superstition predominant in Tyre; for the two principal deities, anciently worshipped in Phœnicia, were the Sun and Moon, the one under the name of Baal, or Belus, whose symbol was fire, so congenial with the Bealtine, or fires of Belus, in these islands, discoursed of above, and Astarte, the Ashtaroth of Scripture, who was represented, in the great tem-De of Hercules at that city, under the form of a female with the horns of a bull placed upon her head, and between them a precious 'gem, of great magnitude and splendor, which by night illumined the whole temple. Lucian, who relates this fact, calls that gem Auxvis, by fome thought to mean the carbuncle, a precious stone fabled to shine brightest in darkness, and therefore the proper ornament of an idol intended to represent the filver empress of the night.

Another corroborative circumstance is, that the Phænician mythological history, according to Selden, enumerates no less than three different Baals; first, Baalsamen, which signifies the Lord of Heaven, and means, in an appropriate sense, the Sun; secondly, Cronus, or Baal; and, thirdly, Zeus Baal, or Jupiter Belus. These are probably the respective nominal heads of the solar and other dynasties of that name, established in the earliest ages on the imperial thrones of Asia, and, doubtless, all have immediate reference to and connection with the oldest or Assyrian Belus, canonized in the Sun, the great conqueror of the land and navigator of the ocean. The colonies that sailed to distant shores assumed the renowned name of the founder, and imparted it with the Phænician worship to the regions and people which they visited.

Another name of the Tyrian Hercules was Melicartus, from Melek-carthe, which Bochart translates, King of the City,* and it is expressly asserted by Pliny, that Melicartus (corruptly written in our copies Midacritus) first brought tin from the island Cassiteris; + a Greek word which has exactly the same signification with Baratanac, probably a translation of it, for it means the tin island; but to what particular part of this remote country from

Tyre

^{*} Bochart's Canaan, p. 709.

[†] Vide Plinii Nat. Hist. lib. vii. cap. 56.

Tyre they alluded by that term shall be more fully explained hereafter.

The principles of navigation, and of its fister astronomy, are universally ascribed by the ancients to the Phænicians. We are informed by Sanchoniatho, in a fragment extant in Eusebius,* that Ousous, one of the most ancient heroes of that nation, took a tree which was half-burnt, cut off the branches, and first ventured upon the vast This affertion comes well enough ocean. from an atheistical Pagan writer who discarded all belief of the deluge and the vessel of Noah; but the fons of the holy patriarch who witnessed that flood, and the building, according to just geometrical proportions, of that vessel; those who, for a whole year, had tenanted the watery deep, who had marked the fury of adverse winds, and the violence of the raging waves, doubtless knew something more of naval architecture and navigation than is here pretended. The authority of Moses himself may be fairly urged against this statement, for that writer expressly declares, that the sons of Japhet, that is, our

Gomerians,

[•] Præparatio Evangelica, lib.i. p. 35.

Gomerians, in their first emigration from the continent of Asia, passed over into the islands and took possession of them: by these were the isles of the Gentiles divided in their lands. Gen. x. 5. This evidently confirms the hypothesis on which the History of Hindostan proceeds, that navigation, like most other sciences, was of antediluvian original, the principles of which were known to the Noachidæ and their immediate descendants, who fettled in the districts where the ark rested, but all remembrance of which was in fucceeding ages lost by those who emigrated to regions very remote from that favoured portion of Asia. If this had not been the case, how came it to pass, that, for many centuries afterward, the light of rifing science and all the principles as well as practice of the arts generally deemed useful flowed thence, as from a common centre, to illuminate diftant nations, funk in the groflest ignorance and barbarity.

Not less decisive is the voice of Pagan antiquity in referring to that enterprizing race the invention of astronomy, and particularly of the constellation which we denominate the Lesser Bear, on the point of whose tail on the sphere

fphere is fixed the pole-star, that star, whose brilliant and steady light, emaning from the centre of the arctic circle, served and still does serve as an unerring guide to those whom conquest or commerce induce to traverse the pathless ocean. The Greeks, indeed, invading the rights of an older race, have attributed to Thales the honour of first classing together the stars in this asterism; but its prior name of Phænice, frequently bestowed upon it even by the Greeks themselves, is a sufficient resultation of this unjust claim.

To the particular cultivation of these sciences and of that commerce which they extended in time to the remotest regions of the earth, the Phænicians were irresistibly impelled by their situation on a narrow slip of land stretching along the shore of the Mediterranean Sea between the 34th and 36th degree of north latitude. Inhabiting a barren and ungrateful soil, they were obliged by unwearied industry to correct the deficiencies of nature, and by extensive commercial enterprizes to make the abundant wealth of distant nations and more fertile regions their own. They soon began to send forth colonies to all the surrounding

nations that would receive them; they established an intercourse with all the islands of the Mediterranean Sea, and with the principal maritime cities of Persia, India, and Egypt. The ports of the Arabian Gulph were crowded with their vessels; they were the general factors of that Oriental world, in the very centre of which they resided, and all trade was carried on in Phænician vessels: in a word, they were the Britons of Remote Anti-Quity.

For the reasons and on the grounds already stated to the reader in the preceding chapter, I have supposed that the earliest post-diluvian navigators of the ocean had the knowledge and use of the magnetic needle imparted to them by the father of the renovated world, or one of the facred ogdoAs preserved in the ark, which was piloted through the raging billows by means of that wonderful guide, under the guardianship of divine Providence. I see no reason to retract that opinion, for it is scarcely credible, that without it the first colonies from Asia could ever have reached in safety the distant and dangerous shore of Britain. By the same channel it probably came to the Phænicians, who might have the art to keep Vol. VI. it

it secret from the Greeks, as they did, for a long period, the rich fource whence they derived that immense quantity of tin with which they supplied the Asiatic markets. however, uncertain though not improbable conjecture, let us advert to what genuine history records of the gradual progress of the Phænician mariners in quest of that commodity towards the western limits of Europe. The reader will please to observe, that I am not now tracing the footsteps of the first settlers to Britain, but of that adventurous race of merchants who first imported to her shores the rich productions of Asia and Africa, when population was increased, and kingdoms, powerful though barbarous, were formed amidst her woody recesses.

To the islands scattered over the Mediterranean, and the neighbouring ports of the Asiatic continent, were probably confined the first rude efforts of Phænician navigation. By degrees they grew bolder, and coasting westward along the shore of the Mediterranean, but seldom daring to lose sight of it, they discovered the southern point of Spain. That southern point was the mountain Calpe, or modern rock of Gibraltar, situated on the Fretum Herculeum, or Straits

of

of Hercules, and the spot on which that hero is afferted to have erected the famous columns which bear his name; or rather, to quit mythology, the vast rock of Calpe itself is one of those columns, and the mountain Abyla, on the opposite coast of Africa, is the other. They were thought to be the extreme boundary of his voyage westward, and the story of his opening these celebrated straits means only that he first explored them, and discovered the passage through them into the Atlantic Ocean. Calpe was many centuries afterwards vifited by the Moors, and called Gebel-taric; whence, according to D'Anville, is corruptly formed its modern name of Gibraltar. At the foot of the mountain they built a city, which they also called Calpe, mentioned by Strabo as a celebrated city in his time. Other ancient geographers denominate this city Cartea, or Melcarteia and Heraclea, deriving the former name from Melicartus, the latter from Hercules, the well-known appellatives of its supposed It was some time before the Phœfounder.* nician navigators had courage to pass through these dangerous straits, and explore the great

* See Bochart's Canaan, p. 682.

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and untried ocean beyond it. Their eager desire, however, to add the wealth of Europe to that of Asia, getting the better of their fears, induced them, at length, to undertake the perilous voyage, and they fettled their first colony beyond the straits, at the isle of Gadir, or Gades, on the western coast of Andalusia, which is the modern Cadiz.* Here they built a city very celebrated in antiquity, and erected a magnificent temple to Hercules, which was visited by Apollonius Tyanæus, and is described with its splendid ornaments by his biographer Philostratus. From this city, possessed of one of the most spacious havens in the world. the Phænicians foon commenced with the people of that country, which abounded in mines of gold and filver, an immense traffic for those precious metals. These were again exported to India, which then, as now, probably swallowed up, as in a bottomless gulph, the bullion of Europe, and, in return, they received the filk of Serinda, and the fine linen and rich gems of the peninfula.

The reader who adverts folely to the prefent aspect of Spain, and the indolent cha-

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[·] Strabonis Geograph, lib. iii. p. 169, ubi supra.

racter of the people, will be rather surprised to read this account of the immense riches formerly dug from the bowels of that country. and the commercial exertions of the ancient inhabitants. But, in reality, no fact in history can be better proved, than that mines, scarcely less productive of gold and silver than those of Peru and Potofi, which are now the object of laborious research, were in these early periods worked, as well those situated in the Montes Mariani, in Andalusia, mountains that skirt the territory of Seville, and now called Sierra Morena, as those of Corduba, now Cordova, a region so fertile in golden ore, as to be called by Silius Italicus, who was a native of this country, Aurifera Terra,* the land that bore gold. Of this abundant wealth of the ancient Iberians, evidence may be found in the early historical pages of all the great empires of the world that carried on any commerce with them; and, in particular, we are informed by a Greek writer of great and merited celebrity, that, when the Phænicians first came among them, they found the inhabitants wallowing in gold and filver, and fo

* Silius Italicus, lib. iii. verse 401.

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willing to part with their riches, from their ignorance of the value of those precious metals, that they exchanged their naval commodities for such an immense weight of them, that their ships could scarcely sustain the loads which they brought away, though they used it for ballast, and made their anchors and other implements of silver.*

It is afferted, though perhaps with some degree of exaggeration, by Diodorus Siculus, that when the Pyrenæan mountains, so called from the fact about to be related, were, in remote periods, on fire, owing to the incautious or criminal conduct of some shepherds, in kindling a fire too near one of its forests, the slames burnt with such fierceness for many days, that it spread itself almost over the whole ridge, and that the intenseness of the heat melted the silver in the mines, and caused it to run down in rivulets along those hills.

Again we are informed by the same respectable Roman writer, cited so often before,‡

that

[•] See Aristotle De Mirabilibus Auscult. Opera, vol. i. p. 1165.

⁺ See Diod. Sic. lib. v. p. 358.

¹ Strabo, lib. iii. p. 256.

that when the Carthaginians, the next in order of the successive invaders of Spain, first came thither, they found silver in such amazing plenty, that their utensils, even their very mangers, were made of it, and their horses shod with it. And Pliny mentions several rich mines of silver dug there by the Carthaginians, one of which, called Bebel, from the finder of it, yielded Hannibal three hundred pounds of silver per day.*

The excellent historian Livy, † also, acquaints us, that Scipio, upon his return to Rome, carried with him fourteen thousand three hundred and forty-two pounds of silver, besides an immense quantity of coin, clothes, corn, arms, and other valuable things. L. Lentulus is said to have brought away a still much larger treasure; to wit, forty-four thousand pounds of silver, and two thousand five hundred and sifty of gold, besides the money which he divided among his soldiery. L. Manlius brought with him twelve hundred pounds of silver, and about thirty of gold,

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^{*} Strabo, lib. xxxiii. cap. 6.

⁺ Liv. lib. i. ii. and iii.

Corn. Lentulus, after having governed the Hither Spain two years, brought away one thousand five hundred and fifteen pounds of gold, and of filver two thousand, besides thirty-four thousand five hundred and fifty denarii in ready coin; whilst his colleague brought from Farther Spain fifty thousand pounds of filver.

What is still more surprising, is, that these immense sums, amounting in all to one hundred and eleven thousand five hundred and forty-two pounds weight of silver, four thousand and ninety-five of gold, besides coin and other things of value, were obtained from that country in the short space of nine years; for just so much time elapsed between the first and the last of these Roman prætors; and not long after they had been as severely pillaged, in all probability, by the Carthaginians.

The Phoenicians having established themfelves, as well as the religious rites of their country, at the great commercial port of Gades, or Cades, were not long in making themselves masters of other places on the rich Iberian coast, equally convenient for carrying on that traffic for which they were so celebrated. brated. The principal of these was Tartessus, situated still farther west, and the capital of an island of the same name, formed by the two streams by which the Bætis anciently emptied itself into the sea, though one of them has been since stopped up. To these two grand emporia were brought down that river the gold, silver, and other valuable productions of Bætica, the modern Andalusia, to be conveyed thence, in Phænician bottoms, (to use a modern maritime phrase,) to those countries of the east, Persia, Assyria, India, and Egypt, the magnificence, luxury, and military enterprizes, of whose sovereigns rendered constant supplies of those precious commodities necessary to them.

Their own country itself produced many articles of superior elegance, very eagerly sought after by those oftentatious and esseminate nations of Asia. Among these the principal were the purple of Tyre, their rich tapestry, and the exceeding fine linen fabricated in the Phænician looms. The glass of Sidon, the mother of Tyre, was another celebrated commodity exported to the countries of Asia by the Phænician navigators; and, in the extensive manufacture of this curious article, they had arrived to such a point of perfection, that not only

only plates nearly as large as any fabricated by the moderns were made in the glass-houses of Sidon, from the fine fand found on the shore of that city, but we also know, from very high authority in antiquity, that they possessed the art of giving them a variety of the most Ariking and beautiful colours. The curious artificers of that nation were also celebrated for their skill in working in those costly metals that formed the cargoes of their ships, and in the ivory which they obtained in abundance from the neighbouring regions of Africa. For that expensive and beautiful dye above-mentioned, which rendered the Tyrians famous over all the world, and which at this day is for its transcendent excellence appropriated to adorn the robes of princes and magistrates, they are said to have been indebted to mere accident. A shepherd's dog, incited by hunger to range the sea-shore, near that city, feized with his teeth the shell of the fish called MUREX, which, breaking in his mouth, stained it of the colour so much admired. The genius of that mercantile people took advantage of the accident, and, collecting a quantity of those shells, impressed the colour obtained from them on the stuffs fabricated by by them; which foon became in general request throughout the East, especially at the courts of princes. This species of purple fish is faid to have been peculiar to the shore of Tyre, and is thought to be exfinct; at least it is not now to be found there. The antiquity of the discovery is evident, from this colour being so particularly mentioned both in the Mosaic writings and in Homer.* The astonishing perfection at which they had arrived, in the working in metals and ivory, is demonstrated by the sumptuous designs of that kind undertaken and finished by the artists of that nation in the temple of Jerusalem, and in the palace of the magnificent Solomon; the former abounding with emblematical devices in cast or sculptured gold, and the latter adorned with that famous ivory throne, inlaid with pure gold, of which Scripture itself declares the like bad not been made in any nation.+ For proof of their great advance in the elegant arts of engraving and sculpture, not less than of their prodigious wealth, we need not go

farther

[•] Consult Exodus, chap. xxv. v. 4, and Homer's Iliad, lib. vi. v. 219.

^{+ 1} Kings, chap. x. v. 20.

farther than the temple of Hercules, in their own city of Tyre, which was not less remarkable for the superb mythological devices, the egg of creation, the nymphæa, and the serpent, that adorned its walls, than for those two magnificent columns, the one of massy gold, the other consisting of a solid emerald, which were seen and described by Herodotus, on his visit to that city; the latter of which, he afferts, by night, illuminated the whole of that vast fabric.*

Freighted with the valuable articles of commerce above-enumerated, but chiefly with gold and filver in ingots, which India ever ingulphed, or formed into ornamental vessels for the use of the temples and palaces of Asia, the Phoenician ships sailed directly up the Mediterranean to a port situated on its most southern extremity, and nearest the Arabian Gulph, called in the Itinerary of Antoninus Rhinocorura; by Pliny, Rhinocolura. It is remarkable, that this important haven is not so much as mentioned by so accurate a writer as D'Anville, in his account of Idumæa, though Raphæa, the modern Resah, in its

* Herodot, lib. ii. p. 108.

neighbourhood,

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neighbourhood, is particularized for an event of far less moment in the annals of ancient history.* Hence they were conveyed by landcarriage to Arsinoe or Suez, the first port on the Arabian Gulph; and, being there reshipped, were transported down the western shore of that gulph and through the straits of Babelmandeb, along the coasts of Arabia Felix and Deserta, and the maritime provinces of Persia, to the Gulph of Cambay and the continent of India, where they were landed either at Patala, the prefent Tatta, situated at the mouth of the Indus, or Barygaza, the present Baroach. Having taken this transient view of the general route pursued by the Phœnician navigators to India, previous to their discovery of the Cassiterides, and the western coast of Britain, we must return to their flourishing colonies of Gades and Tartessus on the coast of Spain, to trace the gradual steps which led to that discovery.

[•] See Cellarii Geograph. Antiq. tom. ii. p. 364; Pliny, lib. v. eap. 13; and D'Anville's Ancient Geography, vol. i. p. 405.

A SHORT HISTORY OF THE COMMERCE AN-CIENTLY CARRIED ON BETWEEN PHŒNI-CIA AND THE BRITISH ISLES, AND BY THE PHŒNICIANS TO THE EAST, FOR TIN.

THIS valuable article of commerce owes its name to an Oriental word intended to denote the appearance which it bore to those Asiatic traders who first explored for tin the mines of the Cassiterides and Cornwall; for, when brought in its crude state from those mines, it is of a dark colour, and, when washed, resembles slime or mud. Pliny and other ancient naturalists denominate it plumbum album, white lead, and, in truth, lead and filver are faid by the chemist to enter largely into the composition of this ore. We read of no other country that anciently produced tin, at least, in such abundance and purity as the British isles, nor of any people who extensively traded in it, except the Phænicians; and that trade must have commenced early indeed, fince it is enumerated among other metals that passed through through the purifying fire in the Pentateuch of Moses,* which cannot be dated less than 1400 years before Christ. It is also mentioned by Homer, + who had too accurate a knowledge of the progressive improvement of mankind in arts and sciences to assign any discoveries to an improper age. But, when those mines are well examined, they exhibit internal testimony of the remote, I had almost said the incalculable, period at which they have been wrought; for, in digging to the depth of fifty fathom, the miners frequently meet with large timbers still entire. These are vulgarly supposed to have been deposited there by the waters of the deluge: but that idea tends to violate M. De Luc's rational hypothesis, which supposes that deluge to have been effected by the finking down of the ancient continents; and, without going quite fo far back in the annals of time, we may reasonably enough conclude them to have been left there by Phænician workmen, the props and pillars of the exhausted mines, especially when we read, in the same author,

that

^{*} Numbers, chap. xxxi. v. 22.

⁺ Homer's Mad, lib. ii. v. 25.

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that pick-axes, brass nails, and other utensils, are found, at the greatest depths, intermixed with those timbers.*

Tin is itself so beautiful a metal, forms such elegant domestic utenfils, the most elegant next to filver, and in the various processes it undergoes by fire makes fo confiderable an ingredient in other manufactures, that the folicitude of all nations, and especially those addicted to commerce, to obtain it is by no means to be wondered at. The great use indeed of tin and the preparations made from it in the various branches of trade and manufactures, particularly in painting, gilding, and pottery, as well as in the science of chemistry, and anciently in that of medicine, though, from its poisonous qualities, generally and justly rejected by the modern practitioner, is too well known to be here insisted on. The Tyrians themselves are supposed, by solutions of this metal, to have greatly enhanced and fixed the beautiful colour of their purple dye,+ and our own manufactured broad-cloth is affirmed to owe its decided superiority in the

markets

^{*} See Childrey's Natural History, p. 8.

[†] See Pryce's Mineralogia Cornubiensis, p. 17.

markets of Europe to its being dyed in the grain, as it is called, in liquids, where this metal has formed a principal ingredient.

There is a very clear and particular account given in the Philosophical Transactions of the method of obtaining and preparing this metal in the mines of Cornwall, which, though too full of technical phrases, known only on the spot, to be inserted at length, may yet be acceptable to the mercantile reader, in the abridgement which is here presented to him.

The ore is only to be obtained by the most elaborate exertions of the miner. The veins descend to very great depths, sometimes to the distance of fixty feet from the surface, and it is often found imbedded in rocks, scarcely penetrable by the tools of the workmen. is also a labour of extreme hazard, from the arsenic with which tin is strongly impregnated; and fulphureous damps and malignant vapours, exhaled around him, often interrupt his progress through those regions of darkness and peril. Superstition has added to the terrors of the scene, for, to use the express words of my author, " The labourers tell stories of sprights of small people, as they call them; and, that when the damp arises from YOL. VI. the

the fubterraneous vaults, they hear strange noises, horrid knockings, and fearful hammerings. These damps render many lame, and kill others outright, without any visible hurt upon them."*

The ore is differently denominated as it is found in its more pure or mixed state. That which is called boll is properly the mine-tin, as it is obtained from the load, or vein, and it is usually dug up in grains or chrystals of a black colour, the blacker the richer, and in lumps of various magnitude. Shode-tin is that which is mixed with stony and earthy matter, found in masses of much larger size, and in the immediate vicinity of the vein. The fiream-tin ore is a name given to particles of the mineral, broken off from the load, running through high mountainous regions, by the waters of the deluge (fay the miners,) or by other impetuous floods, and carried by the violence of the stream into deep valleys at a great distance. There, collected into heaps, they have, in different places, formed strata of confiderable depth and breadth, and lie inter-

mixed

[•] Dr. Morret on the Cornish mines, in Philosophical Transactions Abridged, vol. ii. p. 572.

mixed with the gravel and clay which was torn away with them from their original bed. The fragments are found in the form of small pyramids, of various planes, and are of different sizes, from the bigness of a walnut to the finest sand. Of this fort, principally, well washed, stamped, and purified by repeated susion, is made the finest grain tin, and its superiority to the metal dug from the mine arises from its being free from the mundic, and other mineral substances, which generally impregnate and contaminate the latter.

Having discussed the various kinds of this metal in its original state, we come to their mode of preparing, or, as the miners call it, dressing, the tin. When the ore is dug out and landed, and the larger masses are broken by men appointed to that duty, it is brought, on horses, to the stamping-mills; where, being placed in a great wooden receiver, called the coffer, it is ground to small sand by massy iron weights, fastened to the ends of strong beams of timber. These timbers are called listers, are made of heart of oak, eight or nine feet in length, and, being raised up and depressed by means of a water-wheel, are precipitated down with prodigious force on the S 2 matter

matter to be pulverized. The ore, thus reduced to powder, is, by an ingenious process, particularly described in the paper referred to, washed out of the coffer into a long and deep trench, cut in the floor, called, the launder, stopped only with turf at one end, through which the water gradually oozes away, while the ore itself, purged of its impurities, subfides and fettles at the bottom. The fand and gravelly particles, which, being lighter than the ore, remain uppermost, being removed, the ore is repeatedly washed and cleansed, and in the end is fent to the smelting, or, as with more propriety they term it, the burning-boufe. There, being as repeatedly subjected to the fire to free it from the mundic and other foreign substances, still intimately adhering to the ore, and afterwards, passing through the more intense heat of the refining-fire, where all its remaining drofs is skimmed off, the burning mass is poured into moulds, holding exactly three hundred and twenty pounds weight; and, being left to cool, it is, in that state, called block-tin. fore they are quite cold, the blocks are stamped with the house-mark of the smelters, a pelican, a plume of feathers, or fome

Tome fuch device, in proof of the genuineness. of the metal; they are then weighed, numbered, and fent to the nearest town that has the privilege of coining to be assayed, and to receive the farther impression of the dutchy. feal, which bears a lion rampant, the arms of Richard Earl of Cornwall, without which impression it cannot become an article of merchandize, domestic or foreign. This is called the coinage of the tin, and every one hundred weight of tin thus coined, by ancient usage, pays a duty of four shillings to the Duke, producing a vast, though of necessity a varying, income to the heir-apparent of the British crown; an income, however, that must con-Mantly increase, as new channels for the exportation of this useful article are discovered, or the old ones enlarged by the merchants of England, in their private or collective capacity; a circumstance which proves the obligation of the present illustrious possessor of its revenues, to the laudable exertions of the prefent enlightened Court of East-India Directors, to revive that important branch of ancient commerce with Asia.

The towns appointed for the coinage of tin were anciently only four in number, fituated

S 2 in

in those districts of the county which were considered most convenient for the tinners, by name Leskard, Lestwithiel, Truro, and Helston. The nearest of these, however, was found too far distant from the tinners on its western extremity; and, for their accommodation, Charles the Second added Penzance. To one or other of these places the tin is brought on the four great quarterly sestivals of the year, and so great has the consumption increased, that though, when Carew wrote his volume, the total annual amount of the tin sold did not exceed 40,000%. — Gough's new edition of Camden, p. 10.

The important light in which the British legislature have ever regarded this national source of industry and wealth, in periods long antecedent to those in which our woollen manufactures came to be in such high estimation in the markets of Europe, the grand STAPLE commodity of the country, is conspicuously evident in the great number of immunities and charters granted, at different æras, by English kings and parliaments, to the inhabitants of this western province, by way of encouragement to them, to direct their whole attention

attention to the native riches treasured in the bosom of their favoured country: immunities fo various, and charters fo extensive in their concessions, that this part of Cornwall seems, as it were, a separate kingdom, governed by a pare fiament of its own, and subject to a jurisdict tion peculiarly calculated for the convenience and comfort of the natives. The chief power in these districts is vested in an officer called the lord-warden of the stannaries, who is supreme in law and equity, in cases that affect not the life of the subject, and from his sentence there is no appeal but to the Duke of Cornwall, in council, and, in case of the death or minority of that prince, to the crown.

Having taken this general survey of the method of exploring and preparing, for the public market, the tin found in the mines of Cornwall, having also given the reader some idea of the importance of this branch of trade to the kingdom, as well as of the quantity of metal coined in that western county, a survey, however, only introductory to more particular and detailed statements hereafter, it is now necessary that we should revert our eye to the two infant colonies which we have

Gen the Phænicians were able to establish at Gades, or Gadira, on the Fretum Herculeum, and at the still more western city of Tartessus. The account which I have above given, from ancient authors of the greatest authenticity, supposes the gold and filver mines of Bætica already explored and wrought, and the metal found in them, as having passed through the Imelting and refining house in order for exportation, previous to the arrival of the Phænicians on that coast. This circumstance exhibits very forcible proof of the rapid progress made by the Celtic colonies, who established themselves in Spain in the science of metallurgy, and without admitting all the romantic claims made by the historians of that nation, who infift upon it, that their empire was founded by Tubal, the fifth fon of Japher, about the one hundred and fortieth year after the flood,* full credit may be allowed the first post-dilu-. vian settlers, according to the hypothesis of these volumes, for carrying away with them from Shinar a confiderable portion of information in a science which made the ante-dilu-

vian

[•] Vide Sanchoniatho in Berosus, and Josephi Antiq. Judaic. Bb. i. cap. 3.

vian Tubal-Cain fo renowned in his generation, and the remembrance of which, doubtless, was not wholly erased from the minds of the Noachidæ. To those, however, who may pertinaciously reject our reasonable hypothesis, other causes of early improvement in that laborious branch of science, will, upon reflection, without difficulty, be acceded to, as for instance, the accidental burning of vast forests, which history afferts was the case with those of the great Pyrenean range which disfolved the metals then lying nearer the furface of the earth, or fires kindled on the shore by shipwrecked mariners for the sake of warming themselves, or dressing their provisions, which might easily have happened on the Cornish shore, where the tin-ore, according to Dr. Borlase,* is frequently washed down from the high hills, whose summits, or sides, have been bared by the violence of tempests and mountain torrents, or broken by shocks of thunder.

It was not only gold and filver for the production of which the mountains of Spain were anciently famous; they had, also, rich

veine

[•] Natural History of Cornwall, p. 164.

veins of copper, which according to Sir H. Mackworth, on the subject of Mines, p. 151, always grows in the fame places with gold and filver, and greatly participates of the nature of those metals. This too must have proved a valuable discovery to the other Phœnician merchants, fince we know, from Homer and other Greek writers, that the ancients took great delight in having their domestic utenfils, arms, and accoutrements, of brafs, which is only a factitious metal, formed by a mixture of the lapis calaminaris with copper in fusion; and this process must have been known to mankind before the flood, or Tubal-Cain could never have been the instructor of every artificer in BRASS and iron. Add to this that copper and brafs in the more ancient periods of the world were the universal medium by which commerce was carried on, at least in the western regions of the globe. A piece of brass stamped with the figure of an ox, whence Pliny derives the word pecunia, was the only money known in Rome, during the early ages of that republic. It was called an As; supposed to be derived from Æs, brass; and hence the public treasury was called erarium. It was not, according to the same writer.

writer, till the year of Rome 484, that filyer, money began to be coined in that capital; and their first gold coinage did not take place till the year of that city 546, above fixty years. after. The current coin, also, of our rude British ancestors, notwithstanding they were not actually without gold and filver before Cæsar's invasion, consisted either of coined brass, or annulis ferreis, iron rings, whose value was according to their weight; and, fince Cæsar affirms, dre utuntur importato,* " the Britons use brass imported by foreigners;" it is more than probable that the Phoenicians. retaining the Spanish bullion for the Indian ports, gave the Britons brafs in exchange for the tin of the Cassiterides. But of this subjects we shall discourse more at large presently: let us return to their fettlement of Gades.

If Pliny may be credited, that division of Spain called Lusitania, now Portugal, besides the gold which was rolled down with the sands of its celebrated Tagus, of which most pure metal the sovereigns of that country are said at this day to possess a sceptre, abounded in mines of lead, whence the inhabitants of Meidabriga,

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^{*} Cæsaris Comment. lib. v. p. 92.

one of its cities near the lead mines, now Armenha, are by him denominated Plumbarii, and also produced a small quantity of tin, of an inferior fort, and found generally in an arenaceous state.* After all, though this account is far from being improbable, no very great stress is to be laid upon the information, as the ancients did not make that nice discrimination in regard to these metals which the more minute investigations of the moderns in mineralogical science enabled them to make; for, according even to Pliny, in the very chapter cited, they confidered lead and tin as only two different stages of one and the same metal. Tin was called plumbum album, and esteemed the purest; and the metal which we call lead was their plumbum nigrum. This fmall quantity of tin, if indeed it were tin, to be met with in Lusitania, probably urged the Phænician settlers of Gades and Tartessins widely to explore the western world for increased stores of so useful yet so rare a metal; and launching more widely into the wide ocean, and holding a course still more westerly, they in time discovered the Cassiterides, by

which

^{*} Plinii Nat. Hist. lib. xxxiv. cap. 16.

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which are now universally understood the Scilly islands.

These celebrated islands in the annals of commerce derive their name from κασσιτεροκ, a Greek word, fignifying TIN, and which is the exact translation of the Phoenician Bratanac. or the land of tin, whence Bretaving and Britain. This was their foreign appellation, given them, as may be supposed, by merchants folicitous to distinguish the place by a name expressive of its principal production. The original British appellation of these islands is faid to be Syllen, or rocks facred to the Sun; a circumstance by no means improbable, when we consider the monuments of the solar supersition yet remaining among them, of which some have been described in the preceding fections, and many more probably yet remain unexplored. Wherever the Heraclidæ and the Belidæ came, they left striking memorials of that first and favourite superstition of mankind. They were also called by the ancients the HESPERIDES, or Western Islands: but by whatever name they were distinguished, the western extremity of Cornwall, which is narrow and prominent to the eye that anciently surveyed it from the Cassiterides, might appear

appear of an infular form, must be included in that name, for there lay the grand store-house of the commodity, in quest of which they had travelled, by a tedious and dangerous navigation, from Tyre, in the 34th to a country in the 50th degree of north latitude. They saw, with delight, the dark grains of this valued metal scattered plentifully over the shores of the new-discovered region, and from its slimy appearance denominated it in, mud; whence was formed its Cornish name of Stean, and the Latin word stannum.

The Scilly islands are very numerous, but ten are of principal note, and exhibit the marks of having been in a state of vigorous cultivation, and extremely populous in ancient periods; five only are inhabited; the most considerable at present of which is St. Mary's, being about nine miles in circumference, and containing about 700 inhabitants. The next in size is Trescaw; and, from the ruins of an abbey and other buildings upon it, appears formerly to have been well-peopled, though at present scarcely forty families are to be found in its whole extent. This island is remarkable for being the only one which retains any vestiges of a tin mine. The light-house is erected on

St. Agnes, one of the smallest islands of this cluster, and is a structure equally noble and useful in a sea of very difficult and dangerous navigation. Presumptive evidence and obfcure tradition incline the naturalist, who takes a view of the abrupt appearance and totally altered state of these islands, from what they are historically described to have been, to believe that some dreadful convulsion of nature has taken place in this region; and that the greater part of them have been shattered by some earthquake, or fubmerged by fome tremendous irruption of the furrounding ocean. They are no longer celebrated for lead and tin; no longer do they allure the avaricious merchant; and the Afiatic mariner no longer bears to their spacious harbours the jewels and spices of the fragrant East; but they remain and long will continue to remain an -awful monument of the viciflitudes of nature and the wreck of time.

The principal foundation for a belief in this change rests upon a passage in Diodorus Siculus, which I shall presently insert at length, and which seems to prove that a part of these islands was once situated so closely adjoining to the continent, that, when the tide

was

was low, a passage over into the island might be easily effected at the recess of the waters, and that the miners actually conveyed the tin over in carts to Ictis, one of those islands where it was bought by the merchants, and exported thence into Gaul. At present, however, the nearest of the Scilly islands is distant from the continent at least nine leagues, and either Diodorus must have been grossly misinformed, or the intermediate land must have been swallowed up in the deep; a circumstance which I have observed deserves some credit from traditions current in that part of Cornwall.*

Mr. Carew, in his Survey of Cornwall, a book written nearly two centuries ago, and the obsolete language of which has not entirely obscured the elegance and spirit with which it is penned, has in the following passage, which I have copied verbatim, recorded the sentiments of his countrymen on this subject, and at the same time establishes the truth of the actual recess of the sea.

"The fea gradually encroaching on the shore hath ravined from Cornwall the whole

tract

[•] Borlase's Natural History of Cornwall, p. 177.

tract of countrie called Lionnesse, together with divers other parcels of no little circuite; and that such a countrie of Lionnesse there was, these proofes are yet remaining. The fpace between the Land's End and the Isles of Scilley, being about thirtie miles, to this day retaineth that name, in Cornish Letbowsow, and carrieth continually an equal depth of forty or fixty fathom, (a thing not usual in the sea's proper dominion,) saue that about the midway, there lieth a rocke, which at low water discovereth its head. They term it the Gulphe, suiting thereby the other name of Seilla. Fishermen also casting their hookes thereabouts have drawn up pieces of doores and windowes. Moreover the ancient name of Saint Michal's Mount was Caracloase in Cowse, in English the hoare rocke in the wood, which now is at every flood incompassed by the fea, and yet at some low ebbes roots of mightie trees are discryed in the sands about it. The like overflowing has taken place in Plymouth-Haven, and divers other places."*

Situated nearly opposite to the coast of Galicia, in Spain, the voyage from Gades to the

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Cassiterides

^{*} Carew's Survey of Cornwall, p. 7.

Cassiterides might be accomplished by the Phoenicians in no great length of time; and, under the guidance of Spanish mariners, who were doubtless not unacquainted with the navigation of that part of the Atlantic, at no very imminent hazard. What the particular articles of commerce which they brought with them to Britain, and what they carried back in exchange, at that early period, were, we have the good fortune to have express information from so authentic an author as Strabo. "The Phænicians," fays that writer, "imported from Gades into Britain falt, pottery, and utenfils of brais; they exported from Britain tin, lead, and the skins of beasts."* remarkable, that Pliny, in the very same chapter in which he relates that fuch a quantity of lead was found in Britain, that it became neceffary to enact a particular law, to prevent its being dug up in such an abundance as might tend to depreciate its value, acquaints us, India neque æs neque plumbum babet; gemmisque suis ac margaritis bæc permutat: India itself has no mines of copper or lead; but is content to barter for these commodities her precious

gems

^{*} Strabonis Geograph. lib. iii. p. 146.

gems and pearls.* By this means we are immediately enabled to discover what was at least one of the principal articles which the Indians derived from Britain, and of what nation were the merchants who trafficed in it to that distant coast; even those who so assiduously explored it in the farthest regions of the west.

The articles used in exchange between the two nations deserve some consideration. the one fide were given falt, pottery, brass; on the other, tin, lead, and skins. the first article it appears that the art of procuring falt from the waters of the ocean, or the practice of digging in their own abundant mines for rock-falt, was not then known in Britain: yet to a race living on an island, of which the furrounding fea and the numerous rivers were plentifully stocked with fish of the most excellent fort, salt, either marine or fossil, for preserving and pickling it, if not for their own use, (fince Cæsar asserts, though with no shadow of probability, they entirely abstained from eating fish,) yet for the use of others, and the purposes of commerce, was indispensably necessary, as well as for seasoning and pre-

Plinii Nat. Hist. lib. xxxv. cap. 17.

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ferving

serving the flesh of the beasts killed in hunting, and whose skins, we see, formed also a material article of barter. The falt imported hither by the Phænicians was, probably, of the fossil kind, and obtained from the mountains of Catalonia, in Spain, where are stupendous mines of rock-falt, probably wrought in the remotest periods by a people naturally led to fubterraneous researches, by the vast profit arifing from those which they possessed of metal. Such were the principal uses to which our painted ancestors applied the salt brought to them by the Phænicians, no doubt in very large quantities, as our forests abounded in game, and our coasts probably then as now swarmed with overflowing treasures of the choicest fish; that game and that fish, which, preserved from putrefaction by this pungent and powerful ingredient, possibly made no fmall part of the cargo which that maritime race carried away with them from this island, to support the crews of their vessels during their long voyages to distant and different regions of the earth. If, however, to them and to their fleet, in that infant state of navigation, this grand article of naval confumption was so immediately, so indispensably, necessary, how

how much more fo, and in what an aftonishingly increased proportion must it be to the modern Phænicians of the western world: to us, whose innumerable fleets cover the ocean, and whose sails are expanded (oh! may they long continue so!) in every climate and almost every harbour of the now circumnavigated globe. When we confider the immense quantity of falted provisions constantly laid up in magazines at home for the use of the greatest navy that ever the world beheld, and the amazing expenditure of the same commodity in fuch as are annually exported to the plantations, how much reason have we to applaud the patriot spirit, so similar to that displayed in respect to the highly increased exportation of the ancient national staple, TIN, and other articles of British growth and manufacture, by the Court of Directors; that spirit, I fay, which explored the bosom of our own rich country for the latent treasure, and which has thereby not only prevented the fending abroad some millions of the national wealth for foreign falt, but by diligently working the great mines of rock-falt discovered in Cheshire and other provinces of Britain, and promoting the vigorous domestic manufacture **T** 2

facture of it, has given employment and bread to so many thousands of the industrious poor. Add to this that other most important consideration, that the national revenue is, in all these cases, proportionably improved, as must be evident to the reader, when he is informed, that the gross duty on falt annually amounts to nearly a million sterling. These reflections will, I trust, not be considered as wholly irrevelant to the subject; for I think it my duty, as a friend to my country, to make these statements; that, whatever may be the event of the present convulsed order of things in Europe, we may fully know, learn properly to value, and diligently to improve, the inestimable bleffings bestowed by Providence on these islands.

With respect to the POTTERY asserted by Strabo to have been anciently imported into this country, it will scarcely be doubted, that the Phænicians of Sidon, who, from the fine sand and pebbles scattered over their shores, sinely ground together and mixed with the ashes of burnt vegetables, could manufacture such excellent glass, were also able, by a similar process, from the various species of argillaceous earths which that part of Asia affords,

to fabricate porcelain of as various kinds and degrees in fineness; as well the splendid painted vafe for the palaces of Syria, as the more homely utenfils for the rude Briton, who, now, spurning the vulgar drinking-horn, quaffed from them the fermented liquor, extracted from barley and other vegetable productions of his country, which animated him to the battle, with as much ardour as the nobles of Babylon regaled on the sparkling beverage pressed from the delicious grape of the palm and the cypress. The pottery of Sidon would not fail to be proportionably improved, as, from their proficiency in their grand staple manufacture of glass, they could not want either skill or materials to give their earthen-ware that shining vitreous envelope which equally tends to beautify and preserve it. How greatly in this respect, also, is the scene changed! Sidon and her daughter, Tyre, are no more, and the British manufacture of pottery is not exceeded by any thing of the kind produced in Europe, while her porcelain, especially that manufactured at Chelsea, is making rapid advances to rival even the Oriental. To stimulate national industry in this point, it should be remembered, that our country contains in itself all T 4

all the materials necessary for the carrying these valuable articles of its modern commerce to the utmost point of attainable perfection. Dr. Lister, in the Philosophical Transactions, has enumerated no less than two-and-twenty different kinds of clay, which he has arranged in order, and exhibited, in the form of a table* of clays, to the notice of that Society; and it is well deserving the attention of the public, fince, in all probability, most of these clays, if proper experiments were made, would be found serviceable to the potter, and the great use, elegance, and beauty, of our tobacco-pipe clay, are too well known to be here insisted on. If the Chinese, without any considerable advance in chemical knowledge, or correct idea of enamelling and painting, have been able to furnish Europe with such beautiful specimens of porcelain, what may not in time be accomplished by a nation so much their superior in all the branches of science that form the basis of that beautiful manufacture? Another instance of the patriotism of the East-India Directors ought by no means, in this place, to

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^{*} See that table in Philosop. Transact. Abridged, vol. ii. P. 454.

be omitted; that, principally for the sake of promoting the British manufacture, they have, for some time past, refrained from importing Oriental porcelain, the plenty and cheapness of which could not fail of operating towards the depression of that made in Britain,

Although the subterraneous regions of this island abound with mines of the richest copper, and of the best species of the lapis calaminaris, or calamine, from the cement of which mineral with the former the factitious metal. which we call brass, is composed; yet, by fome strange infatuation, neither were those mines wrought till within these two centuries, nor had we any brass besides what was imported from abroad, till long after that period. The art of making brass is said to have been long kept fecret in Europe by the miners of Germany; but was indubitably known, as was before shewn, during the remotest periods, in Asia. Its having been used, during those early times, and in the infancy of the European empires, as money, is a proof of the value and rarity of this metal in the west, and probably was one cause of its having been made by the Phœnicians a principal article of barter

harter in their traffic with the old Britons. Before the intrinsic excellence of our own cas lamine was fully known, great quantities of Indian zinc, under the name of tutenach, were brought into this country by the ships of the Company; and it is remarkable, that it was imported after the very fame manner as the tin of Cornwall is now exported to that country, as the ballast of those ships. is judiciously restoring commerce to the simple original unperplexed mode after which it was carried on in the first ages of the world, viz. the exchange of commodities immediately drawn from the one country for fuch as are the immediate produce of the other; and perhaps the nearer trade can be brought back to that primitive rational plan, so much the more mutually advantageous will it turn out to the nations conducting it on these principles. Having taken this survey of the commodities imported by the Tyrian merchants into Britain, we return to our inquiry respecting the British exports, the first of which in order and importance was tin; but the farther. confideration of that ancient staple we shall at present defer, to speak of the other two articles, mentioned by Strabo, lead and hides.

It has been before observed, that the ancients confidered tin and lead as only two different states of the same metal, calling the former plumbum album, and the latter plumbum nigrum; but modern chemical experiments have incontrovertibly proved them to be two metals, radically distinct. The great use of the former, in various branches of trade and manufacture, have been already in part enumerated; those of the latter metal in the same line are still more important, and indeed the various preparations from lead must have been indispensable to a nation devoted, as one great tribe of the Indians always has been, to the most elegant designs in mechanic science: a tribe, the members of which are from their very birth, and from generation to generation, fully instructed in all the arts peculiarly tending to promote a flourishing and vigorous commerce, as well domestic as foreign. beautiful varnish, the vivid painting, and curious gilding, displayed on their cabinet and other furniture; their elegant work in enamel, and the rich glaze on the porcelain of Asia, into all which those preparations must of necessity largely enter, are proofs of this affertion. - To be more particular in regard to

to the uses to which lead is applied. From thin plates of this metal, exposed to the fumes of warm vinegar, is obtained the composition. called CERUSE, or white lead, which forms the basis of several kinds of paint. From lead, either in calcination or in fusion, are produced MASTICOT, or yellow ochre, MINIUM, or red lead, LITHARGE, or glass of lead, so necessary in the various occupations of the painter, the plumber, the glazier, the dyer, the potter, &c. &c. that without it, half the business of the handicraft could not be carried on. With sheets of lead the tops of our houses are guarded against the injury of sun and weather; with lead, or its composition, putty, our windows are secured; lead, formed into pipes, carries away the fordes from our dwellings, and brings us water to purify them. Pewter, that bright factitious metal, once in fuch general repute through Europe, and now forming the domestic utenfils of its less polished and affluent nations, is composed of tin, combined with a certain quantity of lead; the physician acknowledges its powerful though hazardous effect in medicine: the chemist well knows its indispensable utility in the fusion and refining of other metals; in short, next to tin,

it is the ancient boast of our isle, and one of the best gifts of the Guardian Providence that watches over it.

The evidence afforded by Pliny concerning the great abundance of lead dug up in his time, in Britain, has been already noticed. but the preceding member of the fentence, from which that evidence is taken, being of importance in this inquiry, as pointing out the other regions where it was found, the whole passage is here subjoined. Laboriosus in Hispania erutum totasque per Gallias; sed in Britannia summo terræ corio adeo large, ut lex ultro dicatur, ne plus certo modo fiat. metal was with great difficulty and labour obtained from the mines of Spain and Gaul, but was produced in fuch plenty, and fo near the furface in Britain, that an express law. was necessary to prohibit its being dug and manufactured, except after a certain proportion, fixed by that law.* The ancient treasures of this metal were not confined to Cornwall, but mines of it have been immemorially wrought in various and distant provinces of

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[•] Plinii Nat. Hist. lib. xxxiv. cap. 17.

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the kingdom, particularly in Lancashire, Somersetshire, and Denbighshire.

The last article of traffic between the old Britons and the Phænicians, mentioned by Strabo, was the skins of beasts, which probably formed one of the oldest species of barter practifed in the dawn of fociety and in the infancy of commerce. This species of exchange, indeed, is very reasonably presumed of a race existing in a state bordering upon savage, whose principal delight and whose constant employment confifted in hunting the innumerable animals that browfed on their mountains or roamed in their forests. They must also have had among them the art of preparing and preferving these skins, fince we are informed, by ancient authors, that they covered with hides the wicker boats in which they failed about the creeks and harbours of their indented coasts.

On the subject of these wicker vessels, it may be observed, that, fragile as they may appear, they were strong enough for a race who probably never ventured beyond the creeks and harbours of their native coast; and it is deserving of remark, that, according to Pietro D'Ella Valle, the very same kind of boats, formed

formed of reeds, compacted together in the manner of hurdles,* and covered with the skins of animals, are at this day used, probably on account of their lightness, on a shore abounding with coral rocks, where heavier vessels might be in danger of being dashed in pieces, by some of the bordering nations who are accustomed to traffic along the coast of the Arabian Gulph. Travellers, also, who have visited the Icelandic Seas, affirm, that the vessels of that northern race are composed of long poles strongly bound round with leathern thongs, and covered with the skins of seadogs, sewed together with the sinews of that animal. No doubt the Cornish coast abounded with seals and other marine animals, whose skins might be applied to a similar purpose by the Britons; or, if not, animals by land were by no means wanting who might afford them plentiful supplies of this kind, not only for domestic use but for exportation. The fertile island of Britain indeed seems ever to have nourished a numerous and vigorous breed of cattle, more than sufficient for the consumption of its own offspring. The ox, grown to

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^{*} Travels, vol. i. p. 269.

a vast magnitude in her rich and extensive pastures, lent them his hide, an ample shelter and defence from the violence of the waters and the weather. The skins of that animal, also, formed the covering of their reed-built huts, and of those large granaries of corn, laid up in the ear, for which, according to ancient authors, they were not less famous than their fons. Her breed of sheep, too, though neither fo numerous nor fo famous as those of modern æras, afforded the old Britons abundance of skins for exportation: flocks of goats, however, an animal equally valued by them for its milk and its flesh, were in ancient far more abundant and cherished than in modern Britain; and it is probable that both the wool of the former, and the hair of the latter, being afterwards properly prepared, received the impression of the beautiful dye of Tyre. these may be added, the innumerable species of game of every kind, with which her vast forests were anciently stocked, the wild boar, of delicious flavour: the red and the fallow deer, of superior beauty and size; the wolf, the fox, and beaver, valuable for their fur; and the fleet hare, equally estimable for his flesh and his skin; that flesh, which, according

ing to Cæsar, was forbidden to be tasted by the old Britons, but is happily not so by their progeny: these, with the various kinds of the feathered race, valuable for their flavour and fine down, so well calculated to gratify the pride and indolent luxury of the East, demonstrate the treasures of this kind possessed by those who made this species of commodity a principal object of foreign traffic.

I cannot conclude this head without another observation, which naturally arises from a part of the subject before discussed. When we read of these wicker boats, with their integuments of hides, of our ancestors, how is a modern Englishman tempted to smile at these first rude efforts of British mariners to navigate the ocean; who, timid, and creeping close to the shore, little dreamed of those stupendous structures, in the form of ninety and one hundred gun ships, in the womb of time to be launched on its surface by their dauntless posterity; much less that a numerous fleet. of these, issuing from the spacious haven of Falmouth or Plymouth, would ever boldly. fail to the distant latitudes of Phænicia itself. and roll the thunder of Britain around the Vol. VI. U thores

shores of that Asia to which their tin, their lead, and their skins, were exported.

In refuming our account of the Phœnician tin-trade, the first circumstance deserving attention is the account given by Orofius, a learned Spanish writer of the fifth century, of an ancient Pharos of admirable workmanship, erected at Corunna, on the coast of Galicia, in Spain; which province, it has been before observed, lies directly opposite, in a southwest direction, to Cornwall.* This Pharos is by the same Spanish writer afferted to have been erected by Hercules, that is, the chief of the first Tyrian colony which traded to Britain, assuming the name of the founder of Tyre, and the appellation originally bestowed upon it was the usual one given to the monuments faid to be erected by that hero, to perpetuate the memory of his progress and exploits, viz. COLUMNÆ, afterwards corrupted into Corunna. Orofius acquaints us, that this Pharos was there placed, ad speculum Britannia, for the direction of ships bound thither from Britain; and it is furely a very remarkable circumstance, that the opposite land, consisting of a

[•] Vide Pauli Orofii adverfus Paganos Hift. lib. i. p. 17.

promontory

promontory running about three miles into the fea, on the Cornish, or rather Devonshire, coast, is called Hertland, or Hertey-Point; that is, Herculis Promontorium, or, as it may be expressed in maritime phrase, Cape The name of this promontory, Hercules. scarcely otherwise to be accounted for, has given birth to a reasonable conjecture, though not fanctioned by direct tradition, that on its extreme point was anciently erected a fimilar Pharos, or, at least, a beacon, to serve as a guide to the Phænician and Spanish mariners exploring the dangerous coast of Britain. Add to this, that the Latin name of Cape Finisterre itself, or Promontorium Celticum, serves decifively to mark both the eastern race who first peopled Spain, and their progress to this western region of it.

When the merchants arrived in Britain, they feem to have reforted to some public emporium, where a mutual commerce for the articles wanted by each nation was commenced; but concerning such emporium and the ancient method of preparing and vending the tin, we have only the following obscure passage in Diodorus Siculus, which, however, seems to confirm the conjecture, that a considerable portion

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tion of ground, lying between the Land's End and the Scylla Isles, has either funk or been fubmerged. "The men of Belerium," fays that writer, "manufacture their tin with great ingenuity; for, though the land is rocky, it has soft veins of earth running through it, in which the tinners find the treasure, and which they extract, melt, and purify. Then shaping it, by moulds, into a kind of cubical figure, they carry it off to a certain island lying near the British shore, which they call Ictis; for, at the recess of the tide, the space between the island and the main land being dry, the tinners embrace that opportunity of carrying their tin in carts, as fast as possible, over to the Ictis; for it must be observed, that the islands which lie between the Continent and Britain have this fingularity, that, when the tide is full, they are real islands; but, when the fea retires, they are but so many peninsulas. From this island the merchants buy the tin of the natives, and export it into Gaul; and, finally, through Gaul, by a journey of about thirty days, they bring it down on horses to the mouth of the Eridanus."* By the Ictis

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^{*} Diod. Sic. lib. iv. p. 301.

here mentioned, it is impossible Diodorus could mean the Ictis, or Vectis, of the ancients, at. present called the Isle of Wight; for, as Dr. Borlase properly observes, he is speaking of the western extremity of Cornwall, from which that island is distant near two hundred miles.* His own conjecture is both rational and just, when he adds, by Ictis that historian must have meant some place near the coast of Cornwall, and Ictis must either have been a generalname for any peninsula on a creek, ix being a common Cornish word denoting a cove, creek, or part of traffic, or else it must have been. used to fignify some particular peninsula or emporium on the same coast, which has now lost its istbmus, name, and perhaps wholly disappeared, by means of some great alteration on the sea-shore of this country.+

This account of Diodorus, though not very elucidatory in respect to the commercial transactions of the Phænicians in Britain, appears to me to open a new view of the subject, and makes us acquainted with another channel by which the tin of Britain was conveyed into the Me-

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^{*} Natural History of Cornwall, p. 177.

[†] Ibid.

diterranean; for, by the mouths of the Eridanus, which is probably the mistake of some transcriber, fince the sense of the context proves the Rhone to be the river intended, by that expression must be meant some city or emporium, fituated in that latitude, not far from that point of the coast at which the Rhone discharges itself into the Mediterra-, nean; either Narbonne, the capital of that division of Gaul, called by the Romans Narbonensis, or the ancient but more remote commercial city of Messalia, now Marseilles, whence it might easily be forwarded, in Tyrian or Gaulic vessels, to the Phænician territories. It is evident, therefore, that the Gallic merchants, at fome period or other, largely participated in this lucrative trade, though I am inclined to think this account of Diodorus more applicable to the course of that commerce in his own, which was the Augustan, age, than the early times to which we allude, especially fince Herodotus, who flourished 450 years before Christ, frankly confesses his rance of the exact fituation of the Cassiterides, "whence," fays that writer, "comes all our tin." In truth, the profound policy of the Phænicians induced them to observe an inviolable

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lable fecrecy in regard to the islands, the grand fource of their wealth in the article of tin, left other nations should become their rivals in this trade, and rend from them a portion of the enormous gains refulting from their monopoly of it. In proof of their jealous caution on this point, may be adduced the following relation given by Strabo: The master of a Phoenician vessel, employed in this trade, thinking himself closely pursued by one of Rome, chose to run upon a shoal, and suffer shipwreck, rather than discover the prohibited tract, or disclose the least opening, by which another nation might be introduced to the knowledge of the Cassiterides; and, for the wife and intrepid spirit of patriotism, displayed by this conduct, he is faid, on his return to Tyre, to have been loaded with wealth and honours by the magistrates of that city.*

Having now considered the two channels, by which, in those ancient times, this metal was exported to Asia, viz. in the Phænician vessels, by the way of the Straits of Gades, direct to Tyre, and through Gaul, on horses to Narbonne or Marseilles, on the Mediterra-

· Strabonis Geograph. lib. iii. p. 109.

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nean,

hean, where the merchants of that nation, reforting in person, or through the medium of their Gallie agents, might have established a mart for the public fale of this commodity; it remains for inquiry, whether there did not anciently exist another route for the transportation to India of this and other European commodities less tedious and hazardous than that by the way of the Arabian Gulph. In pursuing this inquiry, we meet with a striking and wonderful proof of the beneficial effect which an extensive and flourishing commerce has not only upon the nations of the earth themselves, but also on the very regions which they inhabit; for, in the bosom of the barren and mountainous desert of Syria, the active spirit of that commerce gave being to a city, which, in beauty and magnificence, once vied with the proudest capitals of the Oriental world; a city, whose celebrity and grandeur we learn, not only from the doubtful page of the hiltorian and geographer of antiquity, but from the accurate modern details of our own countrymen, whose curiosity has explored, and whose pencils have delineated, the stupendous That city is Palmyra, or Tadmor in the wilderness, founded, as is conjectured, by Solomon,

Solomon, but certainly by some wise and politic prince, to be the grand magazine of the treasures equally flowing into this emporium from the eastern and the western world. The abundant palms which grow in this fecluded spot, the plenty and purity of the water, that, gushing from numerous springs in the neighbourhood, clothed with verdure and fertility a region encircled with frightful rocks and scorching fands, had long made this scite the favourite station of the caravans, which immemorially traversed the desert of Syria, and supported by this route the connecting line of traffic carried on by land between the extremities of Asia. The industrious hand of commerce, protected, not impeded, by imperial power, led the pure waters bursting from those fprings into vast refervoirs scooped from the marble quarry; built extensive granaries; reared the hospitable caravansera; fortified, and rendered impregnable, the barren rock; and while, in gratitude to God, it swelled the lofty temple to his honour, it repaid regal beneficence, by inshrining it in a superb palace, elevated on columns of porphyry, and internally decorated with a profusion of all those rich commodities, the gold, the filver, the filks, filks, and the porcelain, which were the object of its powerful protection.

To this splendid mart, this phænix among Eastern cities, from all the adjacent coasts of the Mediterranean, the productions of Spain and of Britain were transported, on the backs of camels, through the furrounding deferts, and from Palmyra to the banks of the Euphrates, little more than fixty miles distant. Here, the commodities intended for the Indian market were put on board vessels provided for the purpose; and, by a less hazardous and circuitious navigation, conveyed down that noble river to the Persian Gulph and the mouths of the Indus. By the fame channel were the gems, the spices, the perfumes, and the fine linen of India, together with the filks and porcelain of China, brought back into the heart of Assyria. One part of this immense imported wealth was absorbed in the vortex of the two great capitals of the Affyrian and Persian empires; another part was, by inland caravans, pervading Asia in every direction, distributed among its more western provinces; and the remainder found its way, by the defert of Syria, to the islands of the Mediterranean and the continent of Europe.

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At length the great and opulent city of Tyre verged towards its decline; and the adventurous band of merchant-kings, her fons, who, though confined themselves within so contracted and sterile a portion of the globe, had contrived to establish colonies in the most fertile regions of the earth, while their innumerable fleets covered the ocean; this race, equally brave and industrious, after repeated and vigorous struggles to preserve their freedom and their commerce, which, being effentially connected, generally flourish and fall together, were compelled to bow the neck first beneath the yoke of the haughty Assyrian monarch, Nebuchad, nezzar, who, in reducing them, exhausted the strength of Babylon, and afterwards of the victorious chief of Macedon. The latter of these invaders, irritated by the spirited oppolition which he met with, and the accumulated disasters experienced by his army during a feven months fiege, and at the fame time ardently defirous of turning the whole current of the Phænician commerce into a Grecian channel, inflicted a more fanguinary vengeance on this brave people than became a generous conqueror; for, having taken the city by storm, he inhumanly massacred ten thousand

thousand Tyrians in cold blood, and, after burning that noble metropolis to the ground, fent the rest of the wretched inhabitants, about thirty thousand in number, into slavery; * a fate, as unmerited on their part, as it was difgraceful in him to inflict it. their descendants, the Carthaginians, however, the flame of liberty broke forth with undiminished ardour; and among them the spirit of enterprize not only foared with as bold a wing, but accomplished deeds as worthy to be admired and recorded. To that nation our attention must now be necessarily directed in this retrospect on the revolutions of ancient commerce, and the viciflitudes of Eastern empire.

Carthage, the eldest born of Tyre, as Tyre itself was of Sidon, is afferted by Bochart to have been originally called Carthada, and to have derived its name from Charta, an Oriental word signifying, by way of eminence, THE CITY. The exact æra of its foundation is so remote in time as to have baffled all the refearches of the antiquary, and its early history

^{*} Arrian, lib. ii. p. 49.

[†] Bocharti Canaan. de Col. Phoen. lib. i. cap. 24.

is too much blended with fable to merit particular notice. In digging for the foundation of the city, the Phænician settlers found the head of a horse, which was considered as an auspicious omen; and from that event the animal in question became the prevailing fymbol on their coins, as well as ferved to mark the warlike genius of the nation. Some of the numerous coins, stamped with that symbol, anciently found in Britain, may, therefore, possibly have been left here by the Carthaginian merchants, who, devoted to the maritime pursuits of their ancestors, and permitted to partake of their commerce, are known early to have visited the Phænician settlements in Europe. Carthage, fituated upon an extensive peninsula of the African continent, and in about thirty-fix degrees of northern latitude, was well calculated to be, what it was first intended for, the emporium of the vast commerce carried on with the internal provinces of Africa for gold, both in folid masses and in dust, for ivory, Æthiopian gems, and many other costly articles of traffic, in which that continent abounded. But gradually extending its views and its dominions, that city, in time, united to the African trade that of Afia

Asia and Europe, and not less in the magnitude of its marine, as well those vessels intended for military as those appointed for commercial service, than in the splendor of its achievements by land, far surpassed the renown of its parent. In fact, its views of commerce were only bounded by the limits of the world, while its dominions, in Africa alone, at the breaking out of the third Punic war, according to Strabo, * extended over three hundred cities, stretching eastward to Cyrenaica, and westward quite to the Pillars of Hercules. This great extent of territory gave them a decided advantage over their Phænician progenitors, fince their own ample domains afforded them most of the productions which they fent in exchange for the commodities of other countries. These were principally grain, in which Africa was always rich, and fruits of various kinds; honey, palm-wine, olive-oil, and the valuable skins of the savages that roam the deserts of Afric: add to these, that particular species of commodity which might be called the staple manufacture both of Tyre and Carthage, confisting of cables, anchors.

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^{*} Strabonis Geograph. lib. xvii. p. 793.

and all forts of naval stores, together with the colour called Pointson, or Punic, peculiar to themselves and the country from which they migrated.

Although it is impossible, as was before obferved, to fix the precise æra in which Carthage was founded, by a band of emigrated Phænicians, with Dido, the injured fifter of Pygmalion, one of the most celebrated monarchs of Tyre, at their head, yet we know that event must have taken place at a very early period of the parent-empire, fince Herodotus* records a celebrated naval engagement, as having happened between the Carthaginians and the Phocæans, in the reign of Cyrus, about five hundred years before Christ; and farther from the same writer we learn, that, in the time of Cambyses, his son and succeffor, they must have had a considerable marine, fince that monarch, in a meditated expedition against Carthage, considering the whole naval power of Persia as too weak to contend with that of the former state, solicited the aid of the Phænicians against them, which that nation generously declined, urging in excuse,

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^{*} Herodoti Hist. lib.1. p. 77.

that they were their descendants.* The Carthaginians were not ungrateful; for, of the produce of their foil, and of the spoils taken in battle, Polybius informs us, a tenth was, in the infancy of that republic, constantly transmitted to the parent-state as offerings to be deposited in the shrine of the Tyrian Hercules, alike the guardian deity of either oity. + Another proof of their early migration arises from the very circumstance, which was the occasion of first introducing them to a knowledge of the coast beyond the Straits of Gades. which, being of importance in this historical detail, shall now be succinctly related from the o two authors, who have dwelt more particularly on their affairs, Justin and Diodorus Siculus.

The former expressly afferts that circumstance to be the violent opposition which the Spaniards gave to the Phænicians, when erecting the city of Gades; so violent, that they were compelled to call in the affistance of the rising colony of Carthage, who, sending thither a numerous fleet and army, not only effec-

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^{*} Herodotus, lib.iii. p. 191.

[†] Polybii Hist. p. 341.

tually seconded their operations, but also secured for themselves a considerable territory of the rich adjoining province of Bætica.* According to a passage which occurs in Sir Isaac Newton, who has entered into extensive chronological discussions relative to these two nations, it should seem that the temple at Gades must have been erected long antecedent to that city; for the gift of Pygmalion, which he mentions, must have been conferred many ages before the Carthaginians could have been in a situation to afford any such powerful succours to the Tyrians, as described by Justin. Possibly a temple sacred to the manes of that conductor, who assumed the name of Hercules, and a few buildings on the shore, for the purpose of mutual traffic and shelter from the weather, might have formed the whole of the fettlement; but when, in process of time, those foreigners began to erect spacious buildings, and fortify the island, the jealousy, not less than the avarice, of the Spaniards, might be awakened, and the affault as powerful as the motives that produced it. The passage alluded to in Newton is as follows: "The Phænicians,"

* Justin, lib. xliv. p. 574.

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fays that writer, "after the death of Melcartus, built a temple to him in the island Gades, and adorned it with the sculptures of the labours of Hercules, and of his hydra, and the horses, to whom he threw Diomedes, king of the Biftones, in Thrace, to be devoured. In this temple was the golden belt of Teucer, and the golden olive of Pygmalion, bearing smaragdine fruit; and, by these consecrated gifts of Teucer and Pygmalion, you may know that it was built in their days,"* The account of this splendid gift of Pygmalion is in Philostratus, and exhibits a curious proof of the early skill of the Phænicians in working in metals and gems. Pygmalion fent to the temple of Hercules, standing in the island of Gades, a rich donative, being the figure of an olive-tree, of massive gold, and of most exquisite and curious workmanship; its berries, which were of emerald, bearing a wonderful resemblance to the fruit of that tree.+

The Carthaginians, having once penetrated into Spain, found it too important an acquifition to be relinquished, and therefore follow-

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^{*} Sir Isaac Newton's Chronology, p. 37.

⁺ Philostrat. in Vita Apollonii, lib. v. c. 1.

ed up the victory they had gained, to the complete subjection of the maritime provinces on either fide of the Straits. In the course of no very extended period, they erected, in a part of the province of Tarraconensis, now Valentia, on the Mediterranean coast, and on a peninfula jutting far out into the ocean, like that on which old Carthage itself stood, a most noble city, with a spacious port, long the emporium of their wealth in this quarter, which they denominated New Carthage; on the ruins of which stands the modern town of Carthagena. In addition to these valuable conquests by land, their active fleets scowered the ocean in the same line, and obtained posfession of all the adjacent islands, on which they built forts and established factories; particularly of those celebrated islands lying nearly opposite the coast of Valentia, in the Mediterranean-Sea, called, by the ancients, Baleares; but, by the moderns, from their comparative magnitude, Majorca and Minorca, the greater and the less. Their continental possessions produced immense quantities of those precious metals, in which their commerce principally confisted, as well as supplied their army with brave and able recruits for fresh conquests: the X 2 islands

islands yielded abundance of honey, corn, and wine, and afforded convenient harbours for the numerous Carthaginian ships which navigated that sea.

The Carthaginians being of the same race, manners, and religion, as the Phænicians, there are no particular data by which we can ascertain the time of their first trading to the British coast for the commodity in such great request among the traders of the East; we only know from Festus Avienus, an author cited by Bochart, that Himilco, a Carthaginian general, the first of that name, was sent, about the time of Darius Nothus, by the fenate of Carthage, to discover the western shores and ports of Europe; that he successfully accomplished that voyage, of which he wrote a journal, which was inferted in the Punic annals, and which the faid Festus Avie-· nus had feen; and that, in that journal, the Britannic islands are mentioned by the name of Æstrymnides,* islands infested by the æstrum, or gad-fly. At the same time that Himilco was fent westward, another general, of the name of Hanno, (of which, probably,

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^{*} Bocharti Chanaan, lib. i. cap. 35, 39.

there were several, since we meet with one of confiderable note at a much later period,) was fent to explore the fouthern coast of Africa; but he, after making some important discoveries, was compelled to return, from the failure of his provisions. He also wrote an account of his voyage, and a tract, bearing the name of the Periplus of Hanno, is yet extant, though of dubious authority. The circumstance of provisions failing him, during this intended circumnavigation of Africa, forms, in my opinion, a very strong objection against the possibility of the voyage round the African coast, faid to have been undertaken and accomplished near 600 years before Christ, at the command of Pharaoh Necho, king of Egypt, fince the ships used by the Phænicians were not of magnitude sufficient to hold the quantity of provisions necessary for the support of a ship's crew during a three-years voyage; for, in that period, according to Herodotus, it was accom-This question, however, shall be more extensively examined hereafter, when we come to confider the passage to India by the Cape of Good Hope,

* Herodot. Hist. lib. iv. p. 240.

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The genius of Carthage being more martial than that of Tyre, whose object was rather commerce than conquest, it is not improbable that the former might, by force of arms, have established a settlement in the Cassiterides, and by this means have fecured that monopoly of tin, which the Phænicians and their colonies indubitably enjoyed for several centuries; since, according to the united judgment of the two ablest writers on the Asiatic Antiquities of Britain, Bochart and Camden, the Greeks were not heard of in Britain much above a century and a half before the Christian æra. At all events, it is rational to suppose they appointed Phænician or Spanish agents to fuperintend the working of the mines, and fecure their produce from the intrusion of strangers. In confirmation of this, a passage in Tacitus may be adduced, in which, defcribing the Britons as they appeared in his time, he affirms, that the Silures, inhabitants of South Britain, or probably of the Scilly Isles, were of a swarthy complexion, and had curled hair, like the Spaniards.* Norden, also, in his Antiquities of Cornwall, mentions it as

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[•] Tacitus in Vita Agricolæ, cap.iv.

a tradition universally received by the inhabitants, that their tin-mines were formerly wrought by the Jews. He adds, that these old works are there at this day, called Attal Sarasin; the ancient cast-off works of the Saracens, in which their tools are frequently found. Miners are not accustomed to be very accurate in distinguishing traders of foreign nations, and these Jews and Saracens have probably a reference to the old merchants from Spain and Africa: and those employed by them might possibly have been Jews, escaped the horrors of captivity and the desolation which, about that period, befel their country. While I write this, however, I am not ignorant of the general application of this tradition to a later period in the British history, when the mines and their produce were actually farmed out by King John to the Jews, by whom the commerce of this country with Spain and the East was, at that time, principally carried on. It being certain, however, that the Carthaginians traded hither, and so continued to do, for ages, after the destruction of Tyre, let us quit them for a moment, and attend to the new route to India, opened by the bold, but prudent, policy of the Ptolemies, the fuccessors X 4 of

of the great Alexander in the empire of Egypt.

The expedition of Alexander to India, which, if enabled to proceed in the History of Hindostan upon the extensive scale in which I have engaged in it, it will be my province hereafter to relate in more ample detail than it has yet been done, was an event, as to its confequence upon the commerce and nations of Europe, of far more importance than is generally conceived. Without the knowledge of the internal state of the Panjab, obtained by means of that invasion, and, in particular, by the defcent down the Indus; without the incentive of fuch wealth and power, acquired by so large an addition of territory in the eastern quarter of Asia, by the Greeks, a people situated on its western limits, as was the result of the conquests of Alexander in Persia and India, the nations, inhabiting the shores of the Mediterranean and the Arabian Gulph, would, in all probability, have still been the factors to Europe for the rich productions of the Indian continent. That wealth, a large portion of which centred in the Ptolemies, enabled them to execute the daring projects of their master, whose mind, fired with the hopes of monopolizing

polizing its wealth, formed the judicious plan of enlarging and deepening the port of Patala, at the mouth of the Indus, with intent to make it the emporium of a future commerce with Alexandria; while that power secured to their efforts final fuccess and lasting protection. The Greeks, at first reluctant, like the old Egyptians, to engage in distant excursions by fea, or, at least, advancing by very slow degrees to improvement in the science of navigation, now began to expand more boldly the fail of commerce, to court the winds, and quit the shore. Their frequent and severe engagements with the fleets of Carthage and Rome failed not to extend their naval skill: and the treasures which the new theatre of India displayed drew thither in multitudes the Athenian vessels. Having conquered their Grecian rivals, the Romans eagerly engaged in the fame line of commerce, and the decline of that empire opened the way to India for the Venetians and other European states, and thus fet in motion that active and restless spirit of adventure and research, which explored, and finally accomplished, the passage by the Cape.

When, in the hope of monopolizing the trade of Tyre, and securing as an asylum for

the rifing fleets of Greece its two deep and fpacious bays stretching out on each fide of the peninfula, the one looking towards its parent Sidon, the other towards the great mart, Egypt, and ferving as a fummer and winter harbour for its vast marine, the politic Alexander demolished that ancient city, and inflicted fo exemplary a vengeance on its inhabitants, it was his intent only to annihilate it as a Tyrian colony; and, before he left the coast, he rebuilt and repeopled it, assuming the flattering title of the founder of a new Tyre. Of the new inhabitants, many were Grecian adventurers, and many were collected from the maritime provinces in its neighbourhood, which had viewed its prosperity with a jealous and malignant eye. Still, however, there remained a large portion of the natives, who had, during the fiege, transported themfelves in ships to Sidon and Carthage, and these, shortly after returning, endeavoured to revive its ancient splendour. Though these efforts were ineffectual in all the extent defired, much of its commerce and its confequence was recovered; for, scarcely twenty years afterwards, Tyre was again become fo confiderable a city as to refift, for many months, the

the belieging army of Antigonus, one of the generals, among whom the dominions of Alexander were, at his death, partitioned out, engaged in war with Ptolemy, in whose hands it then was, and consequently in a state of dependance on the Greek fovereigns of Alexandria, as it ever after continued. No longer, therefore, could either the Tyrians, or their descendants, the Carthaginians, command the port of Rhinocolura for the transportation of the commodities of the western world to India, because both that port and the passage of the adjoining ishmus were necessarily under the control of the monarch who commanded Egypt and the western districts of the Arabian Gulph.

Alarmed, therefore, at the blow aimed at their very existence by the destruction of Tyre, and at the evident, though not yet declared, intention, of the Macedonian chief to deprive them of their monopoly of the Indian trade, and make it flow in a new channel, the Carthaginians dispatched to that prince, in Egypt, a man, named Hamilcar, of great address and of a penetrating genius, to cultivate his goodwill, and to obtain every information in his power concerning this project, and the possibility

bility of carrying it effectually into execution. Hamiltar found the king busied in the vigorous profecution of his great design; the port of Alexandria already cleanfed, enlarged, and defended by a wall, and the city itself, which was intended to render Carthage a defert, on every fide rifing in beauty and grandeur. The report of the great works carrying on at this future metropolis of Egypt filled the Carthaginians with difmay; and at the same time so incensed them, that, convinced as they were of the entire practicability of concentrating at Alexandria the whole commerce of the eastern and western world, in a transport of rage, they put to death the innocent bearer of this unwelcome intelligence.* No other channel, therefore, for the conveyance of articles of commerce from the western to the eastern world remained to the Carthaginians, besides that before pointed out, through Tadmore and the deferts, to the Euphrates and the Persian Gulph; and, from the convulsed state in which, owing to incessant wars, the Affyrian and Perfian empires continued for nearly half a century afterwards,

even

^{*} Justini Hist. lib. xxi. p. 406, edit. yariorum.

even that channel must have been a very precarious and hazardous one. Patient, however, and persevering as the camel that bears her commodities over the burning sands, commerce undauntedly urges her way through opposing difficulties, climbs the steep rock, stems the rapid torrent, nor relaxes its laborious efforts till it gains the dazzling prize, which crowns its labours and rewards its sufferings.

Although the death of Alexander prevented his own accomplishment of the plan which he had formed for making Alexandria the emporium of the trade of the world, Ptolemy Soter, his friend and fuccessor in the kingdom of Egypt, fedulously and incessantly laboured, during a long reign of thirty-nine years, to complete the magnificent project of his master. This first and greatest of that learned and princely line decorated the noble harbour of Alexandria with a marble light-house, fo grand and beautiful as to be once esteemed the wender of the world; and he joined to it the island Pharos, on which it stood, by a stupendous mole, or causeway, carried, for threequarters of a mile, through the sea. He also erected in it, for the encouragement of science and the accommodation of the learned, a fuperb

perb structure, which was called the Museum, or Academy, and a library, not less valuable for the beauty of the architecture than for the rarity and number of the volumes it contained, which amounted to 400,000, unfortunately burnt about three centuries after; as was the still greater one begun by Ptolemy Philadelphus, his fon, at a more recent period, by the ferocious mandate of the barbarian Omar. The temple of Serapis, the royal palace, the lofty walls flanked with bastions of durable granate, the great canal by which the waters of the Nile were conveyed to the city, and the marble columns that fustained the vaults, (at this day to be feen,) on which the whole city was built, long made Alexandria alike the thronged refort of the merchant and the scholar; and justly entitled it to the distinguished appellations of Queen of the East, and the Metropolis of the World.

Ptolemy Soter died at the advanced age of eighty-four, and was succeeded by a son not less ardently desirous to sulfil the intentions of his wise father, than to perfect the extensive plans of the ambitious Alexander. The perpetual conslicts, by land, in which that father was engaged with the other competitors for the

the divided empire of their master, during the early part of his reign, had prevented his giving all that attention to his marine, though that marine was far from contemptible, which appeared necessary to support the pretensions of a power aspiring to give law on the ocean, and make the commerce of distant nations fubservient to its own aggrandizement. Alexander had foreseen that this could never be effected while Tyre and Carthage were permitted to retain such a numerous fleet in the Mediterranean; and, therefore, after ruining the Phænicians of Tyre, he had formed defigns for the speedy destruction of those of Carthage also. Among his papers were found memoranda of certain grand projects, which, if he had lived, it was his intention to have executed; and, first of these, as the basis of his future scheme of greatness, was recorded his resolution to build a thousand stout gallies, to reduce the Carthaginians and other maritime nations, who might be inclined to oppose the progress of his arms in an intended conquest of all the sea-coasts of Africa and Spain, lying on the Mediterranean; along the whole line of which the next memorandum stated his intention to carry a broad and regular high road,

road, as far as Ceuta and Tangier, for the convenience of commerce, and more easy communication between his land and sea forces; while a third proposed the erecting of forts, establishing arsenals, and forming havens, docks, and yards, for building and repairing ships, at proper distances, throughout his dominions. This scheme, carried into execution, must have annihilated the power of Carthage; and the whole project serves decisively to mark the judicious policy and comprehensive grasp of the mind that formed it.

To fill up these grand outlines, as far as lay in his power, and with a view to make the trade of Europe and Asia centre in the new capital of Alexandria, early in his reign, Philadelphus undertook to cut a new canal one hundred cubits in breadth, and thirty in depth, between Arfinoe, situated on the most fouthern extremity of the Red-Sea, near the fite of the modern Suez, and the Pelufian branch of the Nile. A fimilar intention of uniting the Red-Sea and the Nile formed a part of the ambitious projects for aggrandizing and enriching his nation of a far more ancient fovereign of Egypt, Pharaoh Necho, in which, however, he was violently opposed by the whole

whole order of the priesthood. For those sages were not only induced, by their theology, to dread the defilement of their facred river by the waters of the Erythræan Ocean, but, from their geographical knowledge, were filled with alarm, lest the whole country of Egypt, towards the Mediterranean, should be overwhelmed and turned into a stagnant lake, by the irruption of the former sea, which they conceived to roll on a more elevated bed. Necho, however, persevered in spite of all their remonstances, till seven years ineffectual toil, and the loss of 100,000 men, in that attempt, proved the impracticability of it. remained in this unfinished state till the reign of Darius, of the Persian dynasty of Egyptian kings, who ordered it to be completed, but did not live to accomplish it; a task left for the superior vigour and industry of Philadelphus. Notwithstanding it is said, by Strabo,* to have been sufficiently broad for two vessels, of three ranks of oars, to fail a-breast on it; to have had a commodious lock for keeping up the water to a proper height; and the length of it to be only an easy navigation of four

* Vide Strabo, lib. xvii. p. 753.

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days; for some reason or other the canal came into disuse, and this vast labour and expense of cutting through the isthmus of Suez were thrown away, since, in the time of Cleopatra, who, on the point of losing life and empire, would have gladly sled by this cut into the Arabian Gulph, it was found to be utterly impassable even by light galleys. The labour of so many sovereigns to complete this vast undertaking, has occasioned the canal itself to be called by geographers, and designated in our maps, the canal of the kings.

Failing in this magnificent project, and still resolved, if possible, to fix for ever to Alexandria the lucrative trade now vigorously carrying on between Egypt, the two Arabias, and India, Ptolemy Philadelphus immediately embarked in two other important and fuccessful undertakings; the one was the building of a more powerful fleet than Egypt had ever yet been mistress of, and the other the opening a new road of communication from the Nile, directly across the desert to a part of the Red Sea, whence ships might pass, by a safe and short navigation, to the mouth of the Gulph. For the numerous rocks and shoals that abound in the upper, or northern, part

part of that dangerous sea, added to the tempestuous and variable winds that agitate its surface, have, from the earliest periods, filled the bosom of the mariner with terror and alarms: as he descended down the Gulph, danger and death seemed to encompass him on every side; it contained no friendly port to shelter him from the storm, nor was a pilot within call to whom he might with safety trust the direction of his bark; on one hand he saw the persidious Arab, and on the other the savage Æthiop; the former impatient for his treasures; the latter athirst for his blood.

With the multiplied dangers of this navigation, the nautical skill, the long experience, and the daring intrepidity, that marked all the maritime enterprizes of the Phænicians, were alone equal to contend, and it was in confequence of this that they were fo long in poffession of the advantageous traffic carried on by this route to the coasts of the Happy Arabia and India, exclusively of all other nations of the west. To remove this obstacle to an open commerce between Europe and Afia, as well as to fecure a deep, fafe, and commodious, port, so greatly wanted on its western shore, were objects that long occupied the Y 2 thoughts

thoughts of this able prince, and it was the result of the most deliberate caution, as well as the profoundest policy, that he at length refolved on opening this new road of communication, not in a part of Egypt where the passage between the Red Sea and the Nile was shortest, for, in some places, the breadth scarcely exceeds one hundred miles, which, in particular, is about the distance between the modern town of Kene, on the Nile, and the port of Cossier, the present route of the caravans, but where a fafe, though circuitous, journey, by land, superfeded the necessity of a perilous navigation on a stormy sea. By confulting a map of Egypt, the reader will obferve, that the Nile, after leaving the cataracts, bends its course towards Lybia, in the same direction with the mountains; but, repelled by that eternal barrier, it soon after takes an easterly course, and approaches towards the Arabian Gulph. Near its banks in this quarter, on an eminence, stood the ancient city of Coptos, distant from Alexandria three hundred and three miles; and on this city, which though not fituated immediately upon the shore of that river, communicated with it by a canal of fuch confiderable breadth and depth.

as to bear vessels of the largest burthen then in use, Ptolemy fixed as a central inland emporium between the last-named city and another which he built on the coast of the Red Sea, nearly under the tropic, and named after his mother, Berenice. This city was erected on the fide of a promontory, which there shoots out into the Gulph, and in a fituation far advanced towards its mouth, fo that neither peril nor delay attended the passage of vessels bound thither from this port. It was connected with a spacious haven, protected by that promontory, where a numerous fleet might safely ride at anchor, and its founder spared neither labour nor treasure to make it the grand emporium of all the trade carried on, on that fide of his dominion, with India, Persia, and Arabia; a trade so long enjoyed, and productive of such unbounded wealth to the adventurous race of Tyre and Carthage. Its capacious port, its noble caravanseras for the accommodation of foreigners of every nation, the spacious structures intended as magazines of the richest manufactures of the East, the immunities which the merchant enjoyed, and the powerful arm that protected his property, led to Berenice traders from the re-Y 3 motest

motest parts of the southern and Asiatic continents. The Sabæan Arabians brought thither spices, frankincense, and the richest drugs; the swarthy Æthiopian, gold, ebony, and ivory; the luxurious Persian, silks, brocades, and carpets; the hardy Tartar brought down the Indus from his native mountains Thibetian musk, Siberian rhubarb, and the choicest ermines; and the delicate Indian, cotton, aromatics, and gems. Its crowded exchange exhibited, in one vast assemblage, all the various nations; and its glittering bazar, in one grand display, all the taste, genius, and splendor, of the Oriental world.

A confiderable portion of that species of commerce, which was peculiar to the tropical regions of Asia, commenced and terminated here, and the merchants, paying the moderate duties of the port, retired, with the articles for which they had bartered their country wares, to their respective homes. Those, who came for European commodities, waited the arrival of the caravans from Coptos, which city was distant from Berenice, according to Pliny, two hundred and sifty-eight miles across the desert of Thebais. As this writer and Strabo have given us so particular an account of the mode and

and the exact route by which this new commerce was carried on, I have little more to do in this part than to present the reader with a correct translation of those writers, writers well known indeed, and often copied, but without the addition of whose valuable relations this Differtation would not be complete.

Strabo, who flourished in the reign of Tiberius, when this commerce was in its vigour, speaking of Coptos, says, "This city is inhabited partly by Egyptians and partly by Ara-Ptolemy Philadelphus was the first Egyptian prince who, with his army, made a road between this city and Berenice, across the great defert without water, throughout the whole course of which he erected, at proper intervals, caravanseras, with every necessary accommodation, as well for travellers on foot as on camels. The danger attending the navigation of the northern extremities of the Red Sea was the occasion of this arduous undertaking, the benefits resulting from which to commerce fully demonstrate the utility of the project. The productions of Arabia, India, and Æthiopia, were, soon after its completion, transported, by the way of the Arabian Y 4 Gulph,

Gulph, to Coptos, and this city still remains the emporium of the merchants of the East. They no longer unlade their vessels at Berenice, where the road is grown shallow and unsafe, but at the port of Mias Hormus, which is not very remote, and where a fleet of observation is constantly kept. It was formerly the custom to travel this district on camels by night, (on account of the scorching heat, from its lying so near the line,) at which time, (that is, previously, I presume, to the opening this new commodious road by Ptolemy,) travellers directed their course over the desert, like mariners, by observing the stars; they were also compelled to take with them provision and water sufficient for fix or seven days journey; at present they are supplied with water from deep wells and cisterns, excavated for the purpose. There are mines of emeralds and other precious stones dispersed in the isthmus which they traverse, for which the Arabians industriously search."*

In the above account of Strabo, there are two or three mistakes which excite our surprise in a writer of his usual correctness, and

^{*} Strabonis Geograph. lib. xvii. p. 472. edit. Steph. with

with his opportunities of deriving, from authentic fources, a knowledge of all the circumstances respecting this trade then entirely in the hands of the Romans. For, in the first place, Mias Hormus, or the Port of the Mouse, in all the ancient maps of the Arabian Gulph which I have feen, is placed fifty leagues farther north than Berenice, and very near the scite of the modern port of Cossier. an Arabic word, fignifying small, and therefore well adapted to defignate that port, but either denomination extremely ill calculated to give us an idea of the grand and spacious harbour necessarily attached to one of the noblest emporia of the East; possibly, however, there might be two ports of that name. In the fecond place, the deep wells and cifterns, alluded to by Strabo in this route, were not neceffary, fince we know, from other respectable writers of antiquity, that the same army of Ptolemy Philadelphus, whose useful labours formed the road from Coptos through the defert to Berenice, scooped also close by the side of it, where practicable, and never at a remote distance from it, a canal in which the waters of the Nile, conveyed through the whole extent of that journey, afforded to the ardent thirst

thirst of a caravan, fainting under the fiery beam of a vertical fun, the luxury of its refreshing waters; a canal which possessed the farther advantage, that on the banks of it, at proper distances, were erected villages and convenient inns for the accommodation of the merchants who passed by that route to and from India. In the third place, Strabo states the time of performing this journey to be feven days, whereas, according to the most expeditious rate, after which the loaded camel moves, that is, about twenty miles a day, or rather night, in these tropical regions in which journies are invariably suspended when the sun is advanced in the horizon, a tract, extending two hundred and fixty miles, could not be travelled over in less than twelve days. To folve the first difficulty, we must suppose that the original road made by Ptolemy having ceased, in the time of Strabo, to be the great road of communication between Coptos and the Arabian Gulph, from the caravans preferring the fhorter route from Coptos to Cossier, in this circumstance the mistake, in all probability, originated: of the second, it is difficult to find any folution, unless the canal afferted to have been dug by the fide of this new road be miftaken

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taken for that cut by Philadelphus, between Suez and Cairo: the third mistake is rectified by Pliny, who states the journey to be actually performed in the space of twelve days.*

This last writer is indeed so extremely minute in describing the route by which the trade from Rome was carried on through Egypt to India, that, in a work of this kind, it would be unpardonable to omit the recapitulation of that narrative. After declating that the Romans in his time annually fent a European fleet to India, containing commodities and bullion to the amount of fifty millions of festerces, (somewhat more than four hundred thousand pounds of our money,) and that the profits on the articles thus exported, after all the vast expenses of so long a voyage were defrayed, returned those merchant-adventurers, in the Roman market, a profit of cent per cent, he gives the following detail:

The cargo of this annual fleet, originally instituted by Augustus, the conqueror of Egypt, being arrived at Alexandria, was conveyed thence to Juliopolis, two miles distant; there it was embarked on the Nile, and carried

[•] Plinii Nat. Hist. lib. vi. cap. 23.

up that river to Coptos, distant three hundred and three miles. If the Etesian winds blew favourably, this voyage was generally performed in twelve days. At Coptos the veffels were unloaded, and the goods transported on the backs of camels, in twelve days, to Berenice, at the distance of two hundred and fifty-eight miles, where they remained in warehouses till the proper season of the year for continuing the voyage, which was about the rifing of the dogstar, or Midsummer. When the goods were embarked for the last time, the vessels steered directly for the Arabian coast, and in thirty days arrived at Ocelis, the modern port of Gella, at the mouth of the Arabian Gulph. Sometimes the fleet steered to Cane, called by the moderns Cape Fartaque, and belonging to Saba, the country of incense; and sometimes to Merza, another port of Arabia Felix, but principally frequented by the merchants of the country with whom they trafficked for Arabian frankincense, drugs, and spices, and gave them in exchange arms, knives, and toys, of various kinds. Thence they purfue their voyage, and in forty days reach Musiris, the first mart of consequence in India. The port of Musiris, however, the modern Meerzaw, is described.

scribed, by Pliny, as inaccessible to ships of any confiderable burthen, and the neighbourhood of it as greatly infested by pirates. Barace, or Barcelore, he speaks in terms of more praise; and specifies a great inland town of the name of Madusa, to which modern geographers have found none in modern India immediately correspondent; though in his Cotona, or the region so abundant in the production of pepper, we immediately recognize Cotonara on that coast, a district still celebrated for the same commodity. This little digression of our author is closed with an account of the time of the return of the Roman fleet from India, which, he informs us, was either in the beginning of the month of December, answering to the month Thibi of the Egyptians, or, at farthest, before the fixth day of the Egyptian month Mechiris, that is, before the ides of January; and then, pursuing the same route back again, they reach Alexandria in three months, and arrive in Italy about the end of a complete year from their first setting out. The feveral places that lay in the route from Alexandria to India, and their distances from each other, when the journey was performed by

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by land, may be fummarily and usefully exhibited in the following table:

2	Miles.	Days.
From Alexandria to Juliopolis	2	
From Juliopolis to Coptos	303	12
From Coptos to Berenice, over the deferts	258	12
The voyage from Berenice to Ocelis require	d	30
From Ocelis to Musiris		40
Length of the journey across Egypt	563 Miles.	
Time of the whole voyage to India :	•	94 Day

In addition to this correct statement, Pliny subjoins, that, on their first sailing from India, they have the benefit of the north-east wind, Vulturnus; and that, when they enter the Arabian Gulph, a south or south-west wind carries them on to Berenice. We may reasonably infer from this account, that the mariners, navigating the Erythræan and Indian oceans, must have had some knowledge of the trade-winds, before Hippalus, of whom I shall speak presently, ventured to quit the tardy and timid navigation by the coast of Arabia and Persia, and boldly launching on the wide ocean, found a new and rapid path to India by the aid of the wind, on which grateful posterity

afterwards conferred his name.*

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[·] Plinii Nat. Hist. lib. vi. cap. 23, ubi supra.

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To secure this new commerce from the depredations of the Arabian pirates, that, in all ages, infested the coast of the Red Sea, Philadelphus constantly kept a large fleet stationed in that part of the Gulph which was nearest to Berenice; while, in the Mediterranean, a fleet of still superior magnitude was ever ready to protect from infult the port of Alexandria, and the trade of the West, now beginning to centre in that magnificent metropolis. Of the number of vessels employed on the former station, we meet in ancient classical writers with no regular detail; but, of those employed in the Mediterranean, we find a very exact list in Strabo, and, according to him, it confifted of two ships of thirty oars on a side, one of twenty, four of fourteen, two of twelve, fourteen of eleven, thirty of nine, thirty-seven of feven, five of fix, feventeen of five, and, besides these, of an incredible number of vessels with four oars and three oars on a fide. With these fleets he not only maintained and protected the Indian trade, through Egypt, but also kept in subjection, during his whole life, most of the maritime provinces of Asia Minor, viz. Cilicia, Pamphilia, Lycia, Caria, and the Cyclades.

Cyclades.* It was not only on the Arabian Gulph and its neighbourhood, that this politic monarch erected cities and established ports: with a view, perhaps, entirely to ruin the remaining trade of Tyre, he built lower down the Mediterranean, on the coast of Palestine, and in the vicinity of Tyre, a new and splendid city, which he called, after his own name, PTOLEMAIS, and adorned it with a spacious haven, that for several centuries continued a celebrated emporium, and furnished Syria and all the adjoining region of Asia with the commodities of Europe. Ptolemais lay on the west side of Palestine; but, to secure every channel by which the productions of the western world might find a passage to the Higher Asia and to India, he likewise erected, on the eastern verge of Palestine, another city, long of considerable note in those parts, which, after his furname, he denominated Phila-Thus was Ptolemy in complete possession of the two great avenues of Eastern commerce, that of the caravans over land, carried on through Palmyra, by the permission

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^{*} Strabonis Geograph. lib. xvii. p. 805; and also Athenæus, lib. v. p. 203.

of the Seleucidæ, to the Euphrates and the Persian Gulph, which was then chiefly made use of by the Carthaginians, who beheld with fecret anguish the success of the new route by Alexandria, and in consequence refrained from it; and that through the heart of his own dominions, by way of Coptos and Berenice, principally used by their rising rivals of the Grecian states. Commercial projects of this vast extent by sea and land demanded fleets and armies as proportionably powerful to protect and mature them; and, in confequence, we are affured, by ancient classical writers, that the whole number of ships of war which formed the navy of Egypt, in his reign, amounted to fifteen hundred, with a thousand transport-vessels to attend them; while the army constantly maintained by that prince confifted of three hundred thousand foot, twenty thousand horse, two thousand armed chariots, and three hundred elephants.

Of these arduous and magnificent undertakings of the Ptolemies the reward was both splendid and ample; and their capital in time became, as it were, the treasure-house of the whole world, of which I shall, in a subsequent discourse on the immense quantity of gold and Yor. VI.

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filver possessed by the ancient monarchs of Asia, especially of India, present the reader, among others, with two striking proofs, related at confiderable detail. The first of these is the aftonishing display of gold, silver, and precious stones, recorded by Athenaus to have been exhibited at Alexandria, by Ptolemy Soter, two years before his death, on the occasion of his affociating with himself in the imperial dignity his fon Philadelphus; and the other is the vast accumulated wealth, in coined money and bullion, of which the latter, at the close of a long and prosperous reign, died possessed. For the present, to bring to a conclusion these extended strictures on the trade maintained with Britain on the one hand, and India on the other, by the Carthaginians, we have only to fubjoin, that, after bravely struggling for nearly three hundred years to preserve their liberty and their commerce against the incroachments of the Romans, their empire was entirely fubdued, and at length, in the year before Christ 146,* its stately and beautiful metropolis was, by the renowned Scipio Æmilianus, burned to aihes. But before the Romans

· Appian in Punicis, p. 85.

could

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could engross to themselves any considerable portion of the valuable trade carried on through Egypt to India, another power, which, under the protecting wing of the Ptolemies, had risen to an uncommon height of maritime glory, was likewise to be subdued, and this was the republic of Athens, whose sleets now swarmed in the Indian seas, and wasted into the ports of the distant Euxine the rich commodities of the Ganges.

THE FLOURISHING COMMERCE OF INDIA, IN THE REMOTEST PERIODS, PROVED FROM THE INSTITUTES OF MENU.

PREVIOUSLY, however, to our taking a furvey of the naval concerns of the Greeks with Hindostan and Britain, we ought to consider in a more particular manner than we already have, the progress made by the Indians themselves in navigation, whom the number and magnitude of their rivers, added to their vast inland commerce, must have made very early expert in that science. The best guide we can take with us during this retrospect upon the ancient commercial transactions of India,

India, as well on the continent as by sea, is the book so often mentioned before, the Institutes of Menu, the date of which, in an introductory discourse, Sir William Jones has fixed, by astronomical observations, to about the twelfth century before Christ, and in that book we find numerous rules laid down, and cases adjudged, that probably refer to many centuries preceding even that remote period. The two following stanzas of chapter the eighth, on judicature, and the duty or KINGS, will demonstrate in how important a light the great legislator of India considered the commerce of that empire, and how minute and unwearied ought to be the attention paid to it by its fovereign. The translation, it should be remembered, is, throughout, strictly and scrupulously verbal, so that the reader cannot fail of being in possession of the genuine meaning of Menu, and it may be added, that never before did any editor contrive to give to a verbal translation not only such perspicuity but such unexampled elegance.

"With vigilant care should the king exert himself in compelling merchants and mechanics to perform their respective duties; for, when such men swerve from their duty, they throw the the world (that is, a great commercial empire) into confusion." Institutes, p. 243.

"Day by day must the king, though engaged in forensic business, consider the great object of public measures, and inquire into the state of his carriages, elephants, horses, and cars, his constant revenues and necessary expenses, his mines of precious metals, or gems, (a proof that the Indian sovereign had such mines,) and his treasury." Ibid.

In truth, the Indian fovereigns had no fmall stimulus to attend to their duty in thus inspecting commercial concerns; for their profits are said, in another place, to have been a twentieth part of the profit of every thing sold. The toll-gates, for the passage internally of caravans of merchandize, seem to have been numerous in those early times, and the duty collected with the utmost strictness; for, by the 400th article of that chapter of the code, it is enacted, that

"Any buyer or seller, who fraudulently passes by the toll-office at night, or any other improper time, or who makes a false enumeration of the articles bought, shall be fined eight times as much as their value." P. 240.

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"Let the king establish rules for the sale and purchase of all marketable things, having duly considered whence they come, IF IM-PORTED; and, IF EXPORTED, whither they must be sent; how long they have been kept; what may be gained by them; and what has been expended on them." Ibid.

"Once in five nights, or, at least, every fortnight, according to the nature of the commodities, (that is, whether they will keep or not,) let the king make a regulation for market-prices in the presence of experienced men:" and this feems to have been the general practice of Eastern sovereigns, for Pliny tells us, that, at Ocelis, on the coast of Arabia, the great mart, whither the Indian and Egyptian fleets annually failed to barter the commodities peculiar to their country for the myrrh and frankincense of Arabia; the king of that country also fixed the price of all the articles fold at that emporium, whether imported or exported; and he mentions, in proof of this affertion, that, in confequence of the high duties imposed on cinnamon at that port, that precious commodity rofe to fuch a high price at Rome, that a pound of it fold for one thoufand fand festerces, or about eight pounds sterling.*

"Let all weights and measures be well ascertained by him; and, once in six months, let him re-examine them." P. 241.

These passages afford irrefragable evidence of the very rigid attention anciently paid to the trading concerns of India, and the tract itself, being of such high antiquity, must prove very interesting to the commercial reader. The toll-prices at the different ferries on the Indian rivers are then stated with equally minute precision.

- "The toll at a ferry is one pana for an empty cart; half a pana, for a man with a load; a quarter, for a beast used in agriculture, or for a woman; and an eighth, for an unloaded man." Ibid.
- "Waggons, filled with goods packed up, fhall pay toll in proportion to their value; but for empty vessels and bags, and for poor men ill-apparelled, a very small toll shall be demanded." Ibid.

In the following article respecting freightage, there is a most remarkable passage, which

* Plinii Nat. Hist. lib. xii. cap. 19.

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greatly

greatly arrested the attention of the translator, fince it decidedly proves that 1200, if not 1500, years before Christ, the Indians, not less than the Phænicians, navigated the vast ocean. It is as follows:

- "For a long passage, the freight must be proportioned to places and time; but this must be understood of passages up and down rivers: AT SEA THERE CAN BE NO SETTLED FREIGHT." Ibid.
 - "Whatever shall be broken in a boat, by the fault of the boatmen, shall be made good by those men collectively, each paying his portion." Ibid.
 - "This rule, ordained for such as pass rivers in boats, relates to the culpable neglect of boatmen on the water; in the case of inevitable accident, there can be no damages recovered." Ibid.

It is not, however, only the freightage necessary to be paid for carriage of goods by sea that is thus particularized, for, in another place, we find a law relating to the interest which the merchant was, by mutual agreement, bound to pay for the commodity exported.

"Whatever interest, or price of the risk, shall be settled between the parties by men

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well acquainted with sea-voyages, or journies by land, with times and with places, fuch interest shall have legal force." P. 210.

If the reader should be anxious to know what were the articles bartered in this traffic. I answer whatsoever a great, flourishing, and established, empire could produce, and many which it did not produce; as gold, filver, lead, copper, and TIN; articles of commerce which they feem to have possessed immemorially, and in great abundance, when the rest of the world was but very fcantily supplied with them. As to precious gems, diamonds, rubies, and pearls, they were the native growth of their own rich country; the first came from the mines of Soumelpore, on the Adamas river; the fecond from those of Pegu; the third from the celebrated fisheries on the shores of the Peninfula and Ceylone. The same luxuriant and fertile soil also produced to the Indians fandal, cinnamon, faffron, and all the other rich and odoriferous woods that grow in the fragrant forests and gardens of Asia, though not in the unbounded plenty in which they required them for various uses, sacred and civil; for the magnificent temple, and the splendid palace.

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Many of these latter, therefore, were constantly imported from Arabia to cherish the never-dying fires that blazed on the altars of their deities; for only the most costly aroma-- tics, inflamed by a profusion of rich gums and clarified butter, are there allotted to feed the facrificial flame. Medicinal drugs, also, of the most powerful efficacy, and perfumes of the rarest kind, were the spontaneous gift of their prolific foil. In cassia, bezoar, benzoin, storax, gum-lac, they immemorially drove a flourishing trade; and the aloes, the musk, the spikenard, the civet, and the camphire, of India, are still unrivalled. The commerce for the former was principally carried on through the Northern foobah of Cabul, a region ever famous for its aromas and the rich botanical stores of every species which its delicious climate produces, and in which, independent of its general commerce, it maintained an extensive provincial traffic with Perfia: the latter were, in general, the productions of the warm fouthern provinces and the Peninfula, whence they were as abundantly exported to the West.

If, turning over the pages of the same volume, we examine the mechanical arts and infinite

infinite manufactures of this ancient nation, we find them engraving on the hardest stones. and working in the most difficult metals; giving the most beautiful polish to the diamond, an art supposed not to be known till the 15th century; inchasing in gold, and working in ivory and ebony, with inimitable elegance. In weaving, spinning, and dying; in all the more ingenious devices appertaining to the respective occupations of the joiner, the cutler, the mason, the potter, and the japanner; in executing the most curious cabinet and filligree work; in drawing birds, flowers, and fruits, from the book of nature with exquisite precision; in painting those beautiful chintzes annually brought into Europe, that glow with fuch a rich variety of colours, as brilliant as they are lasting; in the fabrication of those ornamental vases of agate and chrystal, inlaid with the richest gems, that constitute so large a portion of the splendid merchandize of India with the neighbouring empires of Asia; in short, in whatever requires an ingenious head or a ductile hand, what people on earth, in those remote or in these modern times. has ever vied with the Indians?

What

What polished nation is not, or has not been, indebted to the loom of India, and the labours of the Indian mechanic, for the choicest rarities of household-furniture, and apparel of the finest and most splendid texture? - Her rich callicoes, plain or flowered, applied to a thousand domestic and personal uses both in Europe and Asia; —her gold and filver brocades; *- and her carpets and tapeftry ever superior to all others, if not in the design, at least in the dazzling lustre of the colours, are abundant proofs of these affertions. Who has not heard of the shawls of Cashmere, of the fine veils, sumptuous vests, and gaudy fashes, made in India, and of the exquisite fineness of their muslins, especially of those curious robes, of this delicate manufacture, appropriated to the use of the sultanas of the court of Delhi, while Delhi had a court: woven with fuch elegance, that the whole

* Although the use of East-India wrought silk is now prohibited for the wise purpose of encouraging our own manufactures in that line, yet how great and general was the consumption, previous to that prohibition, of this commodity, may be learned from what is recorded in Postlethwayte on this article, relative to the cargo of the Tavistock, which brought 9000 pieces of damask only, independent of other sorts of wrought silk, each of which being worth at market 9 l. or more, the damask only amounted to near 90,000 l.

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dress might be drawn through a small ring, and, when spread on the grass, on account of the minuteness of the threads, were scarcely vifible to the eye? To what European nation has not the loud thunder of the British navy proclaimed the excellence of the falt-petre of Bengal; and what Afiatic army has not had its fury in battle increased by the inspiriting fumes of its opium, not exceeded by the best produced in Egypt? How would the table of luxury have been spread, not only in our times, but in those of Greece and Rome, had it not been for the aid which culinary skill has received from the pepper, the nutmegs, the cloves, the ginger, the mace, the cinnamon, of the tropical regions of India. Add to this, their rich sweetmeats and preserves of all kinds, their fruits dried or green, the anana, the mango, and many others, of fuch exquifite flavour and poignancy, that the appetite ranges among their endless variety without danger of being satiated or disgusted.

In respect to the various articles of which their thriving domestic commerce principally consisted, they in a particular manner marked the native ingenuity and taste of a people, one order of whom are entirely devoted, from their infancy, infancy, to mechanical employ and manual labour, and those articles were, at once, elegant in fabrication and infinite in number. Among these may be reckoned curious baskets made of those flexible reeds, with which the banks of their rivers and marshy grounds abound in wonderful variety; various species of beautiful pottery of the more elegant kind, and fome even scented; an infinite affortment of costly toys, fabricated of ivory, and what we call mother-of-pearl; light screens richly gilded, and painted with the most vivid colours; fans and umbrellas formed of the beautiful feathers of the numerous tropical birds that flutter in their forests and carol in their groves; musical instruments adapted to every species of melody, martial or festive, solemn or plaintive, from the dreadful resonance of the tom-tom to the sprightly air of the vena and tambour: in these, and a thousand other minuter articles, which it would be tedious to enumerate in this place, the Indians, in periods to which European chronology scarcely ascends, carried on, and still maintain, an extensive and vigorous traffic.

But left I should be thought to have exaggerated matters in this account of the varied and and extensive trade of ancient India, I shall now descend to some particular statements and extracts from the volume, cited before, which will fully prove the truth of the preceding affertions. I shall, also, for the convenience of the reader, continue to be precisely accurate in referring to the pages which I cite, and shall begin with mentioning two or three articles on which I shall have occasion to discourse more at large hereafter, when discussing certain parts of the trade of India with Britain in modern periods. The first of these is

SUGAR.

THAT the ancient Indians, at this remote æra, were accustomed not only to extract sugar from the cane, which anciently grew and still grows in luxuriant abundance in their country, and was, probably, thence transported into our West-India settlements; but also knew how to draw from the melasses an ardent spirit, like the liquor which we call Rum, is evident from the following passage in these Institutes, page 320, where it is said, "Inebriating liquor may be considered as of

of three principal forts; that extracted from DREGS OF SUGAR, that extracted from bruifed rice, and that extracted from the flowers of the Madhuca: as one, so are all; they shall not be tasted by the chief of the twiceborn;" that is, the Brahmin, who, according to the received notion of præ-existence in India, is supposed to be a second time born, when he enters on his earthly career.

In this passage we find the exact parallel, or, perhaps, the origin, of that ancient precept of the Egyptian code, that the priest should refrain from tasting wine and spirituous liquors; and the reason afterwards assigned for this strict prohibition, at least in India, is, lest, when in a state of intoxication, he should pronounce some secret phrase of the mysterious Veda. The next are

INDIGO AND DYED COTTONS.

THAT the merchants of India, also, in that early period, drove a traffic in Indigo is certain, since, in the same book, when Menu is enumerating the species of commodity in which it is lawful for a distressed Brahmin to deal,

COINS bearing the SYMBOLS of the PHŒNICIAN RITES,



With an ALTAR exected in BRITAIN to the TYRIAN HERCULES.

To John Caklen Lettsom, M.D. F.R.S. and F.S.A. This Mate, emblematical of the most ancient

deal, indigo is one, among many others, forbidden him; and indeed from that very passage we may collect many other articles then forming a part of the domestic and foreign trade of India.

Among the various kinds of merchandize also there enumerated, but prohibited the Brahmin to trade in, if distress should drive him to derive his sustenance from commerce, are different species of cloth, made of wool, or of the bark of trees, dyed of a red colour, and these are repeatedly specified in so particular a manner, that we have the strongest reason to conclude they had obtained from the Phænicians some information concerning the rich dye for which Tyre was celebrated throughout the Oriental world, and which, in fact, consisted of a deep dark RED. The passage in question particularly specifies

"All woven cloth, DYED RED, cloth made of Sana, of Chuma bark, and of wool, EVEN THOUGH NOT DYED RED," as prohibited the mercantile Brahmin.

In reality, this is by no means the only evident remain of the connection anciently subfisting between the Tyrians and Indians that may be discovered in the history and com-Vol. VI. A a merce merce of the two nations. The immemorial custom established in India, of women sacrificing themselves to the manes of their deceased husbands, may be discovered in the conduct of Dido, wife of Pygmalion, king of Tyre, who, rather than devote herself to the embraces of a second husband, publicly ascended the funeral pile.

Besides the above-mentioned articles, for-bidden the Brahmin, it was unlawful for him to deal in "gems, salt, cattle, human slaves," (that ancient but disgraceful traffic!) "medicinal drugs," and, among others, the baneful classes of poisonous herbs; (for the old Indians seem to have been well skilled in poisons;) he was forbidden to sell "iron, honey, wax, perfumes, sugar, nill or indigo, and lac." P. 300.

PRECIOUS STONES, PEARLS, METALS, IVORY, &c. &c.

THE above list of prohibited articles from so authentic a source is extremely important in an investigation concerning the commerce of a country in such very remote æras. But in

in another passage, on the purisication of articles used at that time in diet and in dress, we are still farther introduced to a knowledge of their great advance in arts and manufactures; for, as to their sciences, they will become an article of separate consideration hereafter, while the curious enumeration of their superstitious customs, as to clothing and diet, will not fail to excite wonder and gratify curiosity. With respect to utensils used in diet, it is observed,

- "Of brilliant metals, of gems, and of every thing made with stone, (as pots or vases,) the purification ordained by the wise is with ashes, water, and earth." P. 137.
- "A golden vessel, not smeared, is cleansed with water only; and every thing produced in water, as coral-shells or pearls, and every stony substance, and a silver vessel, not enchased." Ibid.
- "From a junction of water and fire arose gold and silver; and they two, therefore, are best purified by the elements whence they sprang." Ibid.
- "Vessels of copper, iron, brass, PEWTER, TIN, and LEAD, may be fitly cleansed with ashes, with acids, or with water." Ibid.

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- "The purification ordained for all forts of liquids, is by stirring them with cusa-grass; for clothes folded, by sprinkling them with hallowed water; for wooden utensils, by planing them." Ibid.
- "For the facrificial pots to hold clarified butter and juice of the moon-plant, by rubbing them with the hand, and washing them, at the time of facrifice." P. 138.
- "Leathern utenfils, and fuch as are made with cane, must necessarily be purified in the fame manner with clothes; green vegetables, roots, and fruit, in the same manner with grain." Ibid.
- "Silk and woollen stuff, with saline earths; blankets from Nepaul, with pounded arishtas, or nimba-fruit; vests and long drawers, with the fruit of the bilva; mantles of csbuma, with white mustard-seeds." Ibid.
- "Utenfils made of shells or of horn, of bones or of ivory, must be cleansed by him who knows the law, as mantles of *cshuma* are purified." Ibid.

In page 261, we find punishments ordained for mixing impure with pure commodities, for piercing fine gems, as diamonds or rubies, and

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and for boring pearls or inferior gems improperly."

How severely indeed they punished fraud in traffic, and with what jealous vigilance the Indians guarded from base alloy that gold which they received in such plenty from all quarters of the known world, will be evident from the following severe law, which may be given as a striking specimen of the unrelenting aspect of Hindoo justice.

- "The seller of bad grain for good, or of good seed placed at the top of the bag, to conceal the bad below, and the destroyer of known land-marks, must suffer such corporal punishment as will disfigure them;" as, for instance, depriving them of their eyes or hands. P. 283.
- "But the most pernicious of all deceivers is a goldsmith, who commits frauds; the king shall order him to be cut piecemeal with razors." Ibid.

The duty of a Bice, or merchant, is thus fummarily recapitulated towards the close of chapter the ninth:

"Of gems, pearls, and coral, of iron, of woven cloth, of perfumes, and of liquids, let him well know the prices both high and low." P. 287.

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"Let him be skilled likewise in the time and manner of sowing seeds, and in the bad or good qualities of land; let him also perfectly know the correct modes of measuring and weighing." Ibid.

"The excellence or defects of commodities, the advantages and disadvantages of different regions, the probable gain or loss on vendible goods, and the means of breeding cattle with large augmentation." Ibid.

"Let him know the just wages of servants, the various dialects of men, the best way of keeping goods, and whatever else belongs to purchase and sale." P. 288.

A RETROSPECTIVE VIEW TAKEN OF THE GRADUAL PROGRESS OF THE INDIAN AND OTHER ORIENTAL NATIONS IN SHIP-BUILD-ING, WITH STRICTURES ON THE FORM AND EQUIPMENT OF THE ANCIENT VESSELS.

I HAVE already observed, that the great rivers of India, as well as the vast number of them, intersecting the country as they do in every every possible direction, and many of them at certain seasons of the year, like the Nile, overflowing their banks, and fertilizing the foil, must very early have had the effect to make the Indians acquainted with the art of navigation, especially as it was on the banks of those rivers, as well on account of superstitious motives as for the convenience of inland commerce, that the first Indian cities were erected. Their first efforts in this way were, doubtless, confined to voyages up and down the Ganges and Indus, and their veffels, probably, confifted of that kind of boats, made of great canes or reeds, or, as we call them, bamboos, which grow plentifully on the banks of the large rivers, and in the fens and marshes of India, and with which, closely compacted together, and probably covered, like those of the old Britons, with raw hides, according to Diodorus Siculus, the Indian monarch, whom the Greeks have recorded under the name of Staurobates, formed a fleet, to the number of four thousand, to oppose the fleet of Semiramis on the Indus.* In this engagement,

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^{*} See Diod, Sic. lib. ii. p. 95, and Suidas ad Vocem Semi-ramis.

however, the former was unfuccessful, and the reason seems to have been, (for I am inclined, under certain limitations, to admit the fact of such a battle having taken place, though reported by the fabulous Ctesias,) that the Assyrian sovereign had engaged her Phænician subjects, who were more expert mariners than the Indians, to build that sleet, and direct its operations against the unpractised enemy.

Of the ships that composed this fleet, after all, no very magnificent idea can be formed, fince it was built in detached pieces on the coasts of Cyprus, Syria, and Phænicia, and transported thence, on the backs of camels, to the Indus; and with respect to the reed-constructed boats, covered with leather, so often mentioned above, as belonging both to the old Britons and Indians, with whatever contempt we may look upon them, they were certainly the only ones made use of by all nations, except the adventurous maritime race of Phænicia, during the early periods of the world. We have no account of any others being anciently used in the rivers of Ethiopia, Egypt, and the Sabæan Arabia; and it is on this account Virgil affigns to Charon, the infernal

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fernal ferryman, a boat made of materials of the same kind:

Gemuit sub pondere cymba

Sutilis. Æneid VI. 414.

In truth, these boats themselves were a great improvement on the fimple floats, composed of rafts bound together with thongs made of the finews of animals, that formed the first transports. They were built hollow to resemble the canoes, which, confisting of the trunks of trees, excavated by fire, served to convey the primitive race of men, as the larger floats did their articles of barter. Hides, doubtless, hardened and prepared with great care, ferved as a sheathing to these vessels, and over all was probably spread a coat of rosin, or pitch, more firmly to secure them against the penetration of the water. The Greeks, at least, we know were accustomed to fortify the outfide of their vessels with pitch, mixed with rosin, which gave them a dark appearance, and hence, in Homer, they are uniformly denominated μελαιναι, or black. The Romans in fucceeding ages improved on this practice, and fet the first example to posterity of sheathing

ing vessels with metal, though this fact is not generally known; but I shall present it to the reader on the authority of Mr. Lock, who, in his History of Navigation, prefixed to Harris's Voyages, informs us as follows: "Leo Baptisti Alberti, in his Book of Architecture, lib. v. cap. 12, has these words: But Trajan's ship having been weighed out of the lake of Riccio, at the very time while I was compiling this work, where it had lain funk and neglected for above thirteen hundred years; I observed that the pine and cypress of it had lasted most remarkably. On the outfide, it was built with double planks, daubed over with Greek pitch, caulked with linen rags, and over all a sheet of lead fastened on with little copper nails. Raphael Volaterranus, in his Geography, fays, this ship was weighed up by the order of Cardinal Prospero Colonna. Here we have caulking and sheathing together above fixteen hundred years ago; for I suppose no man can doubt that the sheet of lead nailed over the outside with copper nails was sheathing, and that in great perfection, the copper nails being used rather than iron, which, when once rusted in the water

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water with the working of the ship, soon lose their hold, and drop out."

A race constantly residing on the banks of rivers, who were possessed of such vast extent of fea-coast, and who, probably, in part, supported themselves by fishing, could not fail of observing both in what manner and with what agility the tenants of the watery element urged their way through that element. The remark of Pliny, therefore, that their fins suggested to them the first notion of oars, and the tails of birds, with which they viewed them direct their flight through the pathless air, the use of the helm,* is founded in reason and probability. The attempt to collect the aid of the winds, by expanding a fail, to accelerate their progress on rivers, and in creeks, must, at first, have proved a hazardous, and, in many instances, a fatal, experiment. But, in this instance, the same analogical deductions operated upon them as in the former, and from observing how the feathered tribes, by expanding their wings, and catching the full gale, were borne along through the fields of æther, they learned to give the same aid to

Plinii Nat. Hist, lib. xii. p. 551.

their

their ships, gliding through the trackless water. The resemblance of a ship with sails to monstrous birds, with their pinions extended, infected the minds of all the ancient poets and mythologists, and in this fancy we find the origin of all the sables relative to griffins and hippo-griffins; to the winged dragons of Triptolemus, and the slying steed Pegasus, the offspring of Neptune: these were only ships with out-spread sails, in which the daring adventurers sailed on their respective expeditions, and associated by their naval exploits an ignorant and credulous age.

In the infancy of navigation, indeed, no ships had more than one mast and one large sail; but convenience, added to increasing experience, brought into use a variety of both, whose respective names are recorded by Scheffer,* but which need not be recapitulated in this place.

In the progress of this investigation hitherto, the extreme remoteness of the æra, reaching up to the birth of man and the dawn of science, has prevented any attempt to fix the precise period in chronological history to

which

^{*} Schefferus de Militia Navale, lib. ii. cap. 2.

which the different improvements in nautical science, civil and military, belonged. fince, by fome authors of repute, the fleet of Semiramis has been confidered as the first naval effort, and it is certainly one of the earliest recorded on the page of history, it becomes necessary to state, with as much certainty as we may be able, that period. And here we cannot conceal our fuspicion that the æra affigned to that invasion, in Usher's Chronology, is much too low in the annals of the world; and the mistake has, probably, arisen from there having flourished several Assyrian fovereigns, who bore that celebrated name. According to that chronologer, this memorable event took place about the twelve hundredth year before Christ, which approaches very near the period affigned, by Sir William Jones, to the collecting into a regular code the Institutes of Menu. But those Institutes represent the Indians as a nation already well skilled in maritime affairs, and report cases adjudged relating to adventures at sea. On that account, the more ancient date feems to me to be preferred, which places the event back five centuries nearer the flood. In truth, the Argonauts had performed their celebrated expedition

pedition half a century before the first-mentioned æra, and the Trojan war had already proved the occasion of bringing out the most formidable collective fleet that had yet sailed upon the ocean, confisting of near twelve hundred fail, of all shapes and dimensions; though it must be owned those who navigated them exhibited but little dexterity in nautical concerns; advancing very flowly in their progress, and never daring to venture far from the shore. Sefostris, too, it should be remembered, that Sefostris, who is faid to have flourished above 1600 years before Christ, had long previous to this period, if Diodorus Siculus* may be credited, built, on the Red Sea, a fleet of four hundred ships, for the purpose of conquering the maritime regions of Africa, and fubiugating India. The immense vessel, also, of cedar, two hundred and eighty cubits in length, decorated with golden ornaments on the outside, and beautified with silver within, which the same prince dedicated to Osiris, supposing there to be any basis for the story, argues no mean proficiency in naval architecture, by a race whose superstitious notions

rendered

[•] Diod. Sic. lib. i. p. 51, 52.

rendered them in general hostile to marine enterprizes. It was the invariable aim of this monarch, through a long and glorious reign, to conquer the violent aversion of the old Egyptians, towards engaging in sea-concerns; and he so far prevailed as to establish among them an order of mariners. These vast undertakings, however, were certainly above the skill of a people only beginning to cultivate nautical science, and we are irresistibly led in this instance, also, to conclude, that, in carrying them on, they had the aid of those Phænicians who inhabited Idumæa and the regions of the Mediterranean coast nearest Egypt.

In the course of ages, and in the progress of science, the Indians, taught by experience to provide vessels adapted to war as well as domestic use, would naturally improve in the art of ship-building, and either by exerting their own lively-inventive genius, or by copying the Phænician models, would soon learn to fabricate vessels capable of stemming the stormy billows of even the Arabian Gulph, the utmost limit of their maritime excursions southward. For ships of superior magnitude, strength, and burthen, they certainly did not want in the extensive forests of India abundant

dant materials, especially in those which bordered on the rivers Hydaspes and Indus, and from which Alexander, in later ages, cut down the immense quantity of timber necessary to build the fleet of above two thousand sail, in which Nearchus performed his celebrated voyage through the Persian Gulph, and up the Tigris, into Mesopotamia.

Concerning the exact shape of those ancient vessels, it is impossible to write with any certainty; but it will probably excite in the modern mariner no small degree of surprise, to be informed of a circumstance, which, however, is confirmed by the unanimous voice of classical antiquity, that the first vessels fabricated by the human race were of a round form; and Bochart contends, that the ship Argo, being the first long ship ever used on the ocean, was thus denominated from Arco. a Phænician word, fignifying long.* The same author informs us, that the navy of Tyre consisted of two sorts of vessels, the one being round ships, which they denominated Gauli, the other long ships, or galleys, which they termed Triremes, or ships of three banks

Bocharti Sacr. Geograph. p. 819.

of

of oars, supposed to be of their invention. Of these, in battle, they placed the long vessels in the centre, while the round vessels formed the wings of the fleet. In truth, the first ships were built round, or rather oval, because they were intended merely as transport-vessels and ships of burthen, and that form allowed ampler space for the stowage of provisions and those curious mercantile commodities which were the objects of mutual barter between the inhabitants of Oriental countries. The transport-veffels were generally towed along the great rivers with cords, as is the case at prefent in most countries where there flourishes any confiderable inland navigation; the ships of burden were chiefly managed by fails, while those of war, for the convenience of more swiftly tacking about during an engagement, and approaching an enemy on the weakest fide, were generally rowed with oars. Not that these latter were wholly destitute of fails, but in that infancy of navigation, when men were less dexterous in the use of fails than oars, the former were often an incumbrance, and fometimes, in tempestuous weather, or on a boisterous sea, were even the occasion of disaster and defeat. The Indians, whose obsti-VOL. VI. R b nate

nate adherence to old customs and maxims, however wrong and ridiculous, has been more than once animadverted upon, have not probably so far deviated from the maxims of their ancestors in ship-building, but that we may perceive in the present form of the junks that traffic along the coast of the Peninsula and the neighbouring ports of the Indian ocean, which are huge unsightly fabrics, almost as broad as they are long, a tolerable specimen of their ancient manner, and they are evidently built in the style of ships intended, by their capacious hold, to carry considerable quantities of stores.

In reality, the mercantile race of India had never any idea in the construction of them beyond their commercial use, nor ever intended them for longer voyages than at the most to the Gulph of Ormus and the Red Sea. It was the Phænicians, and their colony of Carthage, who, being obliged to defend from Grecian and Roman invaders their valuable trade and extensive dominions, carried to the utmost point of attainable perfection, in those early times, the art of constructing and navigating vessels, whether commercial or warlike. By them, the ancient sails, which, in many instances,

stances, were made of nothing but hides, sewed together, were exchanged for more flexible ones of linen, and the leathern thongs, or cords, used for bracing them and various other purposes, for others of hemp and flax. By them, too, the old clumfy anchors, which fometimes confifted only of a large stone, and fometimes of a log of wood, with a quantity of lead affixed, or a bushel of sand, let down to stay the course of the ship, were displaced for anchors of iron, having at first one, and afterwards two, teeth, or flukes. It is a circumstance too much connected with our prefent subject to be omitted, that, according to Scheffer, cited before, the Portuguele, at their landing on the coast of Malabar, actually found the first species of rude stone anchor in use among the inhabitants of Calicut, while their vessels themselves were flat-bottomed, had one mast, with one triangular sail, and were, in general, of the burden of two hundred With respect to the merchant-ships used at this day by the Indians for the purpose of carrying on their export-trade, they are mostly built of TEEK, a firm lasting species of timber growing plentifully on the mountainous regions of Malabar, and their cables and B b 2 other

other cordage are made of the fibres of the nut of the cocoa-tree. Indeed, the whole veffel is frequently formed of planks cut out of that tree, and the reader may see an account of the building of one of this fort, by Marco Polo, who visited India in the 12th century, inserted at length in the Anciens Rélations of M. 'Renaudot, who, from authentic fources of information, adds, that this useful tree not only " affords materials wherewithal to build a ship, but to load her also when she is finished. The great planks of the trunk ferve for her hull and masts; with the filaments or fibres of the nut, they spin the cordage and the fails; and they caulk her with the coarfer stuff, and the oil extracted from the tree. They load her with nuts, both green and dry; and of the liquor they draw from them, which is very pleasant and sweet, if not kept too long, they make a kind of cream, comfits, butter, and an excellent oil for wounds."* This tree is a native of the regions that lie within the confines of the torrid zone, both of the Eastern and Western world, and the Indians of the Maldives very ingeniously employ the filaments of

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^{*} Ancient Accounts of India and China, in the notes, p. 20.

the same nut in making shirts, short vests, and other articles of light apparel.

They use in their rivers, and in landing goods from foreign vessels, large slat-bottomed boats, whose sides are sive or six feet high, the planks of which are very thin, and sewed together with their cordage; yielding like pasteboard, if they should happen, as is frequently the case, to strike against the shallows of the shore; for which reason the English employ them in preference to their own boats.

To return to the confideration of the progress of the Phænicians in ship-building. Those, who invented the triremes, would, in course of time, naturally proceed to the formation of quinquiremes and galleys of a still greater number of banks of oars, but it was left to their ambitious and daring rivals of Greece and Rome to build fuch floating, mountains as were the galleys, concerning. which fomething will be faid hereafter, of thirty, forty, and even fifty, banks of oars; nor can we form any conception how it was possible to navigate them to any purpose of utility. These orders, or ranks of oars, were ranged, one above the other, not directly or Bb3 perpenperpendicularly, as some have absurdly imagined, but rose by a gradual ascent, each at the back of the other, from the lowest to the highest region of the vessel. To prevent attrition from constant use, the blade, or broad part of the oar, was generally covered with plates of brais; but, as this addition would naturally have the effect to render the long oars used in the highest range extremely ponderous in the water, it was customary to put lead into their handles, by way of counterbalancing them. It was also the custom of the ancients to fortify the prow, that important part of the ancient vessels, on the strength of which so much depended, with brass; and Suidas even intimates, that those used by Semiramis against the Indians were thus armed; * a circumstance which, if credible, fully accounts for her superiority over the numerous but cane-constructed barks of her enemy. these prows were fastened rostra, or beaks, (still preferving the allusion to birds of prev. whose beaks, or bills, are their principal weapon of offence,) and these were generally fabricated of folid brass, sometimes to the

- Suids in Voce Semiramis.

number

number of ten, whence Æschylus gives to Nister's ship the epithet SeneuGodos, ten-beakeds With the strong sharp points of these beaks, which protruded confiderably beyond the prowe under the water, they affailed, and broke in pieces, the hulls of the enemy's ships, while a shower of darts and javelins annoyed the crew from above, and those other terrible engines of destruction used on board the ancient vesfels, and enumerated by Scheffer, the Sexpire. or dolphin, an immense ponderous mass of lead or iron, cast in that form, and thrown with violence into the vessel with intent to fink it; the apprayes, harpagines, or vast iron harpoons, for penetrating and rending it, the great naval ballista and arietes, or machines for hurling stones and battering their sides, and the long fcythe-like instruments used for cutting their fails and cables, all acting together, contributed to render a naval conflict in ancient, scarcely less tremendous than in modern, periods. Although sails are here mentioned, yet, as we before observed, it was late before they were brought in to the aid of navigation, and later still when they came to be made useful in marine engagements, from the ignorance of the ancients in the mode of rightly B b 4

rightly managing them, at a moment when mismanagement must infallibly have been attended with defeat and ruin. Ships, provided with oars only, were, therefore, at first, used on these occasions, but at the same time, to render them more under command, and that they might more easily tack about in an engagement, they were furnished with two, three, and even four, rudders, a circumstance alike perplexing to the comprehension of the modern mariner: of these, two were affixed to the fore-deck and stern; and the other two to the fides. These early engagements also necessarily took place near that shore from which they dared not venture far by day, and close to which, at night, they were accustomed to anchor, till the Phænicians, applying astronomy to the purposes of navigation, began first to undertake nocturnal voyages. and steer their course, after the same manner as the Arabian and Syrian merchants had long directed theirs through the fandy deferts of their respective countries, by the light of certain brilliant constellations, whose strong and constant lustre invariably pointed out the polar regions of the heavens. Then it was - that they boldly expanded the various fail, and,

and, by long and diligent observation, becoming acquainted with the trade-winds that blow periodically in the equatorial regions, united in one centre the trade of distant nations, and were enabled to barter the tin of Britain for the gold of Ophir and the pearls of India.

THE ANCIENT COMMERCE CARRIED ON BY
THE GREEKS WITH INDIA AND BRITAIN
DETAILED.

AFTER taking the preceding view of the trade of India, one of the greatest and most populous empires of the world, the eye of the historian of Asiatic commerce is, by the course of time and events, directed to Attica, a country so very contracted in its limits, as scarcely to contain two hundred and fifty square miles, and in respect to population, so little to be compared with the former, that its native inhabitants, at no period, exceeded fifty thousand, independent of its slaves, which were indeed disproportionably numerous, but are not to be ranked in the class of citizens. Small, however, as were its limits, and naturally barren as was

its rocky foil, the republic of Athens produced fleets fo numerous and powerful, as acquired for it the supreme dominion of the ocean; and armies, whose invincible energy fubjugated to its control the most puissant fovereigns of Afia. The recollection of the military glory and the love of freedom that exalted this diftinguished nation, its unrivalled renown in the noblest walks of genius and science, and indeed the very names of a long feries of celébrated statesmen, heroes, and philosophers, unavoidably kindle in the mind that takes this retrospective survey, an ardent defire to launch into nobler disquisitions than those which merely concern their commerce: that commerce, however, being the only allotted subject of this discourse, we must steer through it with the undeviating accuracy of the Grecian pilot, nor be tempted by the falcinating splendor of any foreign subject to wander from our course. I must, notwithstanding, take permission, previously to the fucceeding strictures, of repeating my former affertions in respect to the Greeks not being the inventors of the arts and sciences for which they were fo celebrated, though, doubtless, they surprisingly and rapidly improved those.

those, the principles of which they originally received from their Oriental neighbours, as, for instance, astronomy, chemistry, and navigation; while all the more elegant and liberal arts, painting, sculpture, music, and designing, may justly be called their own. In truth, the light, which beamed upon them from the Higher Asia and from Egypt, was reflected from Greece upon Europe; they were the focal point in which the rays of Oriental genius were concentered; at the same time they were to us the medium through which those rays were transmitted. We were awed by their majestic beauty; we were dazzled by their transcendant lustre; and mistook the reflested for the primordial beam,

Cécrops, who, according to Diodorus Siculus,* with a colony of Egyptians inhabiting the Saltic mouth of the Nile, and therefore mariners, and an exception to the generality of the Egyptians who shrunk with horror from sea-adventures, migrated hither so early as the year 1600 before Christ, doubtless brought with them such general elements of the science of navigation as were then known

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Diod. Sic. lib. i. p. 33.

in the infant world; and we learn from the . fame author, that, when he founded the monarchy of Attica, (for Attica, though in fucceeding ages a republic of the first note in history, was at first a monarchy,) that prince divided the people into four distinct tribes, called Cecropis, Autochton, Actea, and Paralia, in which he acted with remarkable conformity to the maxims of the Indian and Egyptian legislators, who thus divided the nations over whom they respectively ruled. Nearly a century afterwards, Danaus failed into Greece from the same quarter, and seized on the throne of Argos; while Minos, the great legislator of Crete, the similitude of whose name and laws to those of the great Menu of India has been remarked by Sir William Jones,* had a numerous navy on the Cretan sea. Numerous, however, as it was, it must still have been very inadequate to any useful purpose of defence or commerce, since Dædalus, whom the Greeks, in a well-known mythological fiction, have recorded as the first inventor of fails, was not then born. Their grand and united effort, the Argonautic expe-

dition,

^{*} Institutes of Menu, in the Preface, p.9.

dition, did not take place till about 1150 before Christ. The disputed object of that expedition is out of the question; it is sufficient to remark, that it was the first ship equipped for war that sailed out of the ports of Greece; and in those days the voyage to Colchis was a subject of scarcely less celebrity than the discovery, in more recent periods, of the voyage to India by the Cape of Good Hope. The consequence of that expedition upon the maritime genius and efforts of all the Grecian states was such, that, in less than fifty years, they were able to furnish twelve hundred ships, of all descriptions, to carry on the war against Troy; and of that number the Athenians alone, according to Homer,* furnished fifty vessels.

With the destruction of Troy expired that ardor of naval enterprize, which had begun to distinguish the rising republics of Greece; an additional proof of its having in great part originated from a foreign source, the immediate impulse of which upon their minds having ceased, their conduct was of course no longer influenced by it. No grand naval exploit of

* Iliad, lib. ii. v. 94.

that

that nation is, for several centuries, recorded on the page of history: their mariners, during this long interval, were either dispersed among the vessels of the Phoenician merchants, or piratically infested that element on which the daring nautical genius of the former engrossed the traffic, and disdained a rival.

The ruin of the elder Tyre, near the commencement of the fixth century before Christ, by the Assyrian monarch Nebuchadnezzar, called forth into action the dormant ambition of Athens, to possess the palm of commerce and the fovereignty of the ocean. Their progress, however, in navigation, was necessarily flow, from the infant state of astronomical science among them, since, as yet, they only knew to steer the course of their vessels by the stars in Ursa Major; a most uncertain guide in remote and hazardous voyages, fince that constellation very imperfectly points out the pole, and the stars in its extremities are at the distance of above forty degrees from it. It was not till Thales, the inventor, according to the Greeks, of the afterism of the Lesser Bear, had returned from Egypt, that they became acquainted with, and were able to fail by, the unerring light of the pole-star. That philofopher Copher brought with him the grand postulatum, together with many other splendid attainments in science, from the caverns of the Thebais, about the middle of this century. and proved to Greece what the Cynosure was to navigation; the guiding star of its expanding genius. From that instant her naval glory began to dawn, but it was not till after the invasion of Greece by Xerxes, and the final annihilation of the Tyrian empire by Alexander, that it reached its meridian. The Athenians were not without rivals in the contest for maritime dominion; the indefatigable race of Ægina, and the voluptuous, yet mercantile, fons of Corinth, long combated their claim to that enviable distinction; till, at length, the former being subdued by the Athenian arms directed against them by the immortal Pericles, and the latter having called in the fame power to aid them against the Spartan army, which, under the command of Agesilaus, had laid fiege to their fumptuous metropolis, the Athenians became triumphant on the ocean; and, closely pursuing the tract of the Phoenician vessels, displayed the banners of Greece on the shores of the Cassiterides and in the Gulph of Cambay.

Before,

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Before, however, I proceed to state the particulars of the flourishing trade carried on by this enterprizing people with those remote regions, it is necessary I should notice two events, in producing which the Greeks were greatly instrumental; events of great importance as to their consequence on the commerce and kingdoms of the East, but principally relative to those of Egypt and Persia, to whose history therefore I must, for a short period, direct the attention of the indulgent reader.

CURSORY REFLECTIONS ON THE LIMITED NA-VAL CONCERNS OF THE ANCIENT EGYPTI-ANS AND PERSIANS.

I HAVE not hitherto, in any particular manner, mentioned the maritime concerns of the ancient Egyptians nor yet of the ancient Persians, for, in fact, neither of those nations were greatly addicted to nautical adventures. The former were prevented from becoming so by their abominable superstition, which led them to consider the ocean, probably from some faint traditions relative to the deluge, as the enraged Typhon, the restless enemy of the

the benign Osiris. I have, however, already observed, that Sesostris, 1600 years before Christ, had endeavoured to conquer this rooted aversion of the Egyptians to naval enterprizes; that he contrived to have a fleet of four hundred ships of war on the Arabian Gulph, and that he instituted among his reluctant subjects a marine class. Their deeplyrooted religious prejudices were, doubtless, one, but not the only, cause of their aversion to the sea and foreign trade; for, happy in their own genius, and in a most fertile soil, the ancient Egyptians, like the modern inhabitants of Japan, were internally rich in every thing necessary to their happiness and convenience; and, except minerals and fome particular gums confumed in religious rites and in embalming the dead, wanted not the luxuries which foreign commerce introduces. Not that they were entirely destitute of that species of commerce, but they suffered other nations, more addicted to nautical concerns, to be their factors and agents. Able as they were, from their fituation, to command the whole navigation of the Red Sea, they relinquished the natural right of their country to the more adventurous Tyrian and Idumæan mariners; VOL. VI. and

and were content to receive, through their hands, the Arabian incense that burned in their temples, and the Indian drugs annually swallowed up by the rapacious jaws of the catacombs. For these they bartered the emeralds of the Thebais; the fine glass, fabricated from the ashes of the celebrated plant kali, at the great Diospolis, in which city the manufacture of this article rivalled, if not exceeded, the antiquity of those of Sidon; the natron that grows fo abundantly in that country, and even at this day supplies the shops of European druggists; the paper formed from the reed of the Nile, from which its name is derived; the linen woven from the flax of Egypt; and, above all, the corn, which may be confidered as the staple of that country, and grew there in fuch luxuriant abundance, as through all antiquity caused Egypt to be considered the granary of the world.

In return for these articles the Phænicians gave them oil, which was ever the abundant produce of the olive-groves of Syria and Palestine; and this, it will be remembered, was one of the articles with which king Solomon repaid the kindness of the Tyrian monarch, in furnishing him with cedar and cypress for building

building the superb temple of Jerusalem: the Scripture expressly mentioning the former's annual present of twenty thousand measures of wheat and twenty measures of pure oil: the oil they exported to Spain and other countries, but the infular scite, the vast population, and contracted territory, of Tyre, required not less the grain of Syria than that of Egypt for the fupport of its innumerable citizens. They also imported into Egypt that timber of which her own foil could not furnish even the small quantity used in her public and private edifices; the various fragrant productions of the Arabian and Indian gardens; and the precious metals of which the lower Egypt was wholly destitute; the principal among which may be enumerated the gold of Sofala, the filver of Spain, and the TIN of Britain. ticularize this last article, because, independent of the great advance of the Egyptians in metallurgy, (and tin, it has already been obferved, is mentioned in the Pentateuch of Moses, learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians, and in the writings of Homer,) we meet, in ancient classical writers, with very ample and repeated testimony, that the Egyptians, in the glass-houses of Diospolis, knew C c 2 how

how to fabricate mirrors of stupendous magnitude; and, though hence it does not absolutely follow that these mirrors should be of TINNED GLASS, yet the use to which they applied, at least, two of these mirrors, affords very strong reason for that supposition; since, if composed of any metalline substance, the fituation in which they were placed must unavoidably have exposed them to obscuration or corrofion. One of these mirrors, according to Strabo,* was elevated on the summit of the great temple of Heliopolis, or the city of the fun, to reflect into that temple the full splendor of its meridian beam; while another of still more prodigious dimensions was, in later periods, erected on the Pharos of Alexandria, and so placed as to reflect ships approaching Egypt at a vast distance, and imperceptible by the eye from its loftiest pinnacle.

Unwearied as were the exertions of Sesostris, recapitulated above, they were only the transient efforts of an enlarged and liberal mind, spurning at and trampling down vulgar prejudice; those vessels were, in all probabi-

* Strabo, lib. xvii. p. 492.

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lity, provided with their rigging, cordage, and other furniture, and navigated, by the Phænicians. With that prince the project of extending their power by foreign conquest expired; and all ideas of the necessity of keeping up a powerful navy seem to have been erased from the minds of his more politic fucceffors on the throne of Egypt. If such, however, had not been the case, there was one insuperable objection to their maintaining any confiderable navy; I mean the above-mentioned total want of timber proper for its construction and repair, of which the whole country was fo entirely destitute, that even the boats on the Nile were obliged to be fabricated either of baked earth glazed and varnished, or of rafts fewed together with the papyrus. Happily for the Egyptians, the views of those pacific princes were folely directed to the establishment of a vigorous internal commerce between the respective provinces of that fertile kingdom; to constructing canals for the more equal distribution of the waters of the Nile; and raising stupendous bulwarks to secure the Delta from being a fecond time desolated by the ravages of the robbers, known to us by the name of the Scenite dynasty, a race whofe C c 3

whose recorded barbarities evince them to have been the most unfeeling tyrants that ever governed the oppressed progeny of Mizraim. In consequence of this relapse of the Egyptians into their ancient prejudices, no port remained open on all the coast of Egypt for the admission of foreign vessels for nearly a thoufand years, except Naucratis, a most celebrated mart, fituated not very remote from Sais, then the capital of Lower Egypt, and which gave its name to one of the mouths of the Nile. It was Psammetichus, the first of that name, who, rejecting the contracted policy of excluding strangers from Egypt, threw open its ports to all nations, and gave a firm fettlement to his allies, the Greeks, who were fo instrumental in fixing him on the throne of that kingdom.*

In respect to the Persians, they were equally restrained, by the precepts of religion and policy, from engaging in maritime expeditions. The element of water, not less than that of fire, was the object of their superstitious veneration, and while that superstition made them shudder at the idea of polluting it them-

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Herodotus, lib. ii. p. 163.

felves, by any species of filth, thrown from veffels, the dread of invasion from a quarter in which they were fo defenceless, induced them to prohibit the entrance of foreigners into their dominions, by any maritime inlet, under penalties extremely rigorous. Indeed, to render that event impossible by the channel of their two great rivers, the Tigris and the Euphrates, they effectually dammed up the mouths of those rivers with immense engines; to remove which cost Alexander, when his fleet, under the command of Nearchus, failed, by the route of the Persian Gulph, into Mesopotamia, no small portion of time and labour. At length, roused to a fense of danger by the accounts brought to the court of Persia of the naval armaments sitted out by the rifing states of Greece, their dauntless and aspiring neighbours, the Persian sovereigns, broke through the fetters of that ancient supersition, and, by the assistance of the Phœnicians, and even the Greeks themselves, constructed a navy, and ploughed the forbidden In this new project, ambition also had a considerable share, and it was a desire of exploring and conquering the western provinces of India, that induced Darius to fix C & 4 out out at Caspatyra, on the Indus, the fleet so celebrated in history, of which he gave the command to Scylax, a Carian Greek, with express orders to sail down the current of that rapid river; diligently to observe the countries that lay on either fide of it; to enter the great ocean beyond it; to coast along the Persian and Arabian shore; to enter the Red Sea by the Straits of Babelmandel; and, finally, failing up that Gulph, to land in Egypt, and by that route return to the capital of Persia. This tedious, and, for those days, hazardous, navigation, Scylax successfully accomplished in the thirtieth month from its commencement, and, arriving at the court of Susa with the defired intelligence, animated that monarch to an undertaking which added fo much lustre to his crown, and brought so large an increase of revenue into his treasury, It will scarcely be expected, after the ample astronomical detail exhibited in the former portion of this volume, that a circumstance so remarkable, as that of the revenue thus acquired amounting to 360 talents, the exact fum of the days of the ancient year, should be omitted being noticed in this place; more particularly, as it is an undeniable proof of the Perfian

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Persian year being not at that time reformed: It is probable, that, in this expedition of Darius into India, he learned from the Brahmins the true number of the days of the reformed year; fince, in the pompous march of Xerxes; to dispute the empire of the world with Alexander, the number of youths clothed in scarlet robes, the emblem of the folar fire, arranged with a view to the same mythological fuperstition, was three hundred and fixty-It should be also remarked, that this tribute from the newly-conquered province of India was paid in gold, while that of all the other Satrapies was paid in filver; and that the Indian tribute alone, according to Herodotus, amounted to 4680 Euboic talents, nearly a third-part of the whole revenue of his other dominions, which was 14,560 Euboic talents, or 2,807,437 1. sterling.+ The reason of its being paid in gold rather than filver is properly affigned by Rennel, from the Ayeen Akbery, that "the Eastern, branches of the Indus, as well as some other

streams

^{*} Herodotus, lib. ii. p. 189, and Quintus Curtius, lib. iii. cap. 3.

⁺ Herodotus, lib. iii, p. 288, et seq.

Greams that descend from the northern mountains, anciently yielded gold-dust."* value of the ancient talent varied extremely in different countries of Asia; if the Indian tribute was paid in Euboic talents of gold, it must have amounted to an immense sum, and far greater in proportion than the other nineteen provinces into which the Persian empire was divided. We must not, however, suppose the larger fum mentioned above to have been the total of the revenues of Persia, for many of the distant kingdoms, subject to that throne, paid their tribute in kind; as for instance, that of the Satrap of Armenia, according to Strabo, was twenty thousand young horses, while the governor of Arabia, the country of aromatics, furnished that luxurious court with frankincense equal in weight to a thoufand talents.+

Independent of the damming up the mouths of their great rivers, other impenetrable barriers against the entrance of strangers on the side of the sea, and the establishment of a maritime commerce, were eagerly sought after by the

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Rennel's Memoirs, p. 25.

⁺ Strabo, lib. ii. p. 530.

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icalous policy of the Persian monarchs, who in order to render their country still more securefrom invasion, were induced to leave utterly uncultivated the fouthern region of the province of Gedrosia, naturally barren, and scorched up by the beams of an almost direct sun. Along the whole of this extensive coast, and the fouthern parts of Carmania, which stretches from the Indus quite to the Persian Gulph, no city was, in those days, to be seen; no friendly port opened its broad arms to the storm-beat mariner: it was left in the posfession of enemies more hostile to the human race than even the inhospitable savages of the dreary Æthiopian coast, the blast of pestilence, and the desolating fury of famine. It was in those desert regions that the armies of Semiramis and Cyrus perished, and that Alexander lost three parts of his numerous and triumphant troops. Of its maritime limit, by far the greater part was an unpeopled defert, and of the inhabited parts, a miserable race, who subsisted on fish and the plunder of wrecks, afforded to occasional visitants a dreadful specimen of the sterility of the country and the barbarity of the natives. By these precautions the Persian sovereigns not only

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only prevented the Phænician, Carthaginian, Grecian, and other formidable naval powers, from penetrating by that route into the heart of Persia, but kept sacred from the intrusion of foreigners that vigorous and peculiarly lucrative commerce, which had been immemorially carried on between the more northern provinces of their empire and those of India, and which, in this survey of the ancient commerce of Asia, is highly deserving our attention.

In the geographical part of this work, vol. i. chap. 3, when speaking of Candahar, a city said to have been erected by Alexander, in all probability on the scite of one still more ancient, and to have been so denominated from his Eastern name of Secander, I obferved, from the Ayeen Akbery, that, being fituated on the mountains of Paropamisus, which separate Persia from India, that fortress has, in all ages, been considered as the gate of Hindostan towards Persia, as Cabul was towards Tartary; and I added, from Sir William Jones, that, according to the Indians, no person could properly be called ruler of India, who had not taken possession of Cabul. was through these gates that the current of a most most extensive traffic in all the various produce of the three empires continued to flow in those early periods, and probably centred at the great and ancient city of Lahore, on the Rauvee, the noblest branch of the Indus, and the favourite residence of the early kings of India. of which also the reader will find, in the second chapter of the same Dissertation, a minute description from authentic writers. Whichsoever of the great Indian cities was at that time the capital, Delhi, Canouge, or Palibothra, (for in those ages we must not mention Agra, then only an obscure mud-walled fortress,) the direct road to it lay through Lahore, and we can alone be enabled to form a just idea of the importance and value of its commerce, by reflecting that two of the most solendid and luxurious courts that Asia ever witnessed, Babylon and Persepolis, successively obtained, by this route, those sumptuous articles that contributed most to their magnificence. In ages of fuch remote antiquity as that in which the Affyrian monarchy flourished, unless we allow a very intimate commercial connection to have subsisted between that empire and India, we are at a loss to account for that profusion of wealth and pomp that decorated

decorated their palaces, the infinity of gems that glittered in the superb temple of the Syrian goddess, and the aromatic gums that eternally flamed on her altars.* An enumeration of a part of those riches may be seen in the Appendix, and though they might obtain from Arabia and Syria many precious woods and drugs, together with gold and ivory, brought by the ships of those nations from the continent of Africa, yet there were many valuable commodities in the highest request among them, as filks and embroidery, which the Persian had not then began to manufacture, together with curious porcelain, and vales of agate and chrystal, which could not possibly be obtained through that quarter. It is more than probable, that those great trading nations, in the remote periods to which we allude, supplied themselves at Babylon and Susa with the Indian manufactures, transported thither, by caravans, through the northern Carmania and Aria, the modern Herat.

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[•] See Diodorus Siculus on the Palaces of Babylon and the Temple of Belus, lib. ii. p. 97.—See also Lucian De Syr. Dea, cap. 32 and 33.—And Chardin on the Ruins of Persepolis, tom. ii. p. 150.

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What Cabul and Lahore were in India, the great city of Hecatompylos, in Parthia, or the city with a hundred gates, so denominated, according to Polybius,* because all the roads in the Parthian dominions, centred there, was in ancient Persia; and it is a remarkable fact, that the modern city of Ispahan, supposed to have been erected on its ruins, according to Tavernier, stands exactly in the same predicament as the great central mart of modern Persia. + He adds, that at present it has ten gates; that the road, generally travelled by the caravans passing into India, is from that capital to Candahar, t of which he gives the respective stages and their distances; and that this route is principally used on account of the great plenty of water to be met with in the course of it. From Candahar to Cabul, he acquaints us, is a journey of twenty-four days; from Cabul to Lahore takes up twentytwo; and from Lahore to Delhi eighteen; but that the merchants, when their business is urgent, quit the caravans, and take horses, ten

or

^{*} Polybius, lib. x. cap. 25.

[†] Tavernier's Persian Travels, p. 149.

[‡] Ibid, p. 257.

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or a dozen in company, and ride the whole journey in about a third of the time in which it is performed by the caravans. As in the dreary and inhospitable tracts that form the boundaries of the Persian empire towards India, the face of nature, fince that period, is not changed, and as water is so indispensable an article to a caravan, the description of the road and stages by this modern traveller is, in all probability, applicable to the period when the ancient caravans travelled this road, to which the afferted building of Candahar, by Alexander, can be no valid objection; for it is unlikely that a post, so important as to be called the Gate of India, should have been without a fortress to secure and defend it. As the long and beaten track of a caravan in an inland Eastern country is seldom deviated from, fo possibly the mode of arranging and conducting the caravans themselves is not so greatly altered, but that our author's description in one of his journeys to India may afford to the European reader a tolerable idea of the regulations anciently established among them, I shall transcribe from his entertaining page the principal circumstances enumerated during

during their progress. It is in Tavernier's Persian Travels, page 48, of the London solio edition; but is too long for insertion here, and I want the room it would occupy for an extract more interesting to the Indian reader.

With respect to those numerous caravans, confifting of loaded waggons, which we have feen, from the Institutes of Menu, are so univerfally established in India, for the transportation from city to city of the native and inferior productions of Hindostan, the intelligent author above-mentioned, who refided fo long at Agra and Surat, acquaints us, that this species of internal commerce is carried on almost entirely by means of oxen yoked to the wain, in more or less numbers as the wains themselves are more or less heavily laden. Sometimes they use the animal itself for that purpose, without the waggon; and he adds, it is not unusual for them to lay upon the back of those oxen 300 or 350 pounds weight. " It is an admirable fight to behold ten or twelve thousand oxen at a time all laden with rice, corn, and falt, in those places where they exchange these commodities; carrying corn where only rice grows, rice where only corn Vol. VI. $\mathbf{D} \mathbf{d}$ grows,

grows, and falt where there is none at all-They make use of camels sometimes, but very rarely, they being particularly appointed to carry the luggage of great personages. When the feason requires haste, and they would speedily convey their merchandize to Surat to ship them off, they load them upon oxen, and not in wains. There is this great inconvenience for travellers, that when they meet with these numerous caravans in strait places, they are forced to stay two or three days till they are all past by. They that drive these oxen follow no other calling as long as they live, nor do they dwell in houses; for they carry their wives and children along with them. There are some among them that have hundred oxen of their own, others more or less; and they have always one, who is their chief, that takes as much state as a prince, and has his chain of pearl hanging about his neck. When the caravan that carries the corn and that which carries the falt happen to meet, rather than yield the road, they frequently enter into very bloody disputes. The Great Mogul confidering one day that these quarrels were very prejudicial to trade, and the transportation of necessary provisions from

from place to place, fent for the two chiefs of the caravan, and, after he had exhorted them, for the common good and their own interest, to live quietly together, and not to quarrel and fight when they met, gave to each of them a lack of roupees and a chain of pearl.

"Of these carriers, there are in India four distinct tribes, each of which may confist of a hundred thousand souls. The first of these tribes carries nothing but corn, the second rice, the third pulse, and the fourth salt, which they fetch from Surat, and all along down the coast as far as Cape Camorin.

the number of a hundred, or two hundred at most. Every waggon is drawn by ten or twelve oxen, and attended by four soldiers, whom the person that owns the merchandize is obliged to pay. Two of them march upon each side of the waggon, over which there are two ropes thrown across, the extremities whereof they hold in their hands, to the end, that, if the waggon should lean on one side in ill way, the two soldiers on the other side may

D d 2

keep

keep it from overturning, by pulling the ropes with all their strength."*

After confidering the general route of the caravans passing from the capital of Persia to the capital of India, we come, in the next place, to inquire what were the principal commodities mutually exchanged, in the ancient times concerning which we treat, by these two mighty nations. As the light of history, at least so far as the Persians are concerned. (for, we are well acquainted with what, in all ages, have been the imports and exports of India,) is on this subject but feeble, from the remoteness of the æra, we must be guided in our refearches by examining the natural hiftory of that country, and the bent of the genius of her inhabitants: of what articles she stood most in need, and with what she could best dispense.

The vast empire of Persia, then, in its various regions, exhibited to the beholder a strong contrast of objects. Some of its provinces were arrayed, by the hand of nature and the labour of man united, in the charms of a terrestrial paradise, abounding with flowers,

plants,

^{*} See Tavernier's Indian Travels, p. 28.

plants, and fruits, of exquisite beauty, brilliancy, and flavour. In particular, they produced grapes of the choicest kind in luxurious plenty, of which they made variety of wines, with which the ancient Persians were not denied to regale themselves, as their Mahommedan descendants are, and one of transcendant excellence is still known to us by the name of Schiras wine. It was in allusion, probably, to the multitude of its vineyards in those ancient periods, that the golden bed of Darius was adorned with the stock of a vine in gold, whose expanded branches, containing clusters of jewels, rubies, emeralds, and amethysts, intended to represent grapes both green and in their various advances to maturity, over-canopied the recumbent monarch. The pomegranates, also, of Persia are acknowledged to be the largest and finest in the world; and the predilection of their ancestors for this species of fruit is attested by history and the grand monuments of Chelminar, or forty pillars, which are crowded with stupendous hieroglyphic sculptures, many in the form of this vegetable; while the historic page recording the

• See Athenæus, lib. xii. p. 408.

D d 3 magnificent

magnificent march of Xerxes towards Greece,* informs us, that ten thousand of the Persian infantry, who seem to have formed his body-guard, bore javelins decorated with pomegranates; of whom one thousand had that symbol in gold, the other nine thousand in silver. The Persian melons and dates, too, are without a rival in Asia; and, from what has been said, it may fairly be inferred, that these choice wines and delicious fruits, both pickled and preserved, to which may be added a great variety of medicinal drugs indigenous to Persia, were brought by her caravans to the famed emporia of Cabul and Lahore.

Other provinces of Persia, especially the more elevated regions towards the north, exhibited a prospect as cheerless and barren as the former was animated and fertile; where the disgusted eye and the weary foot travelled over immense deserts of scorching sand, unsheltered by one solitary shrub, unrefreshed by one irriguous stream. Their inmost recesses were the gloomy, but secure, haunt of the savages of the desert. The intrepid youth of Parthia, however ardent in the chase, dared

not

^{*} See Herodotus, lib. vii. p. 328.

not pursue the lion or panther to that frightful abode; and often the benighted camel, though patient of fatigue and thirst, expired beneath its load in their inhospitable bosom. The fortitude and industry of man, shrunk from the danger of exploring the furface of those cheerless wastes, had yet penetrated with fuccess their subterraneous re-However externally barren and rocky those Hyrcanian solitudes, they were internally rich in mines; and, though the metals dug from them were not of the most precious kind, being principally iron and copper, yet were they easily exchanged for them among their commercial neighbours of Arabia and Syria. The quantity of iron produced in their country supplied their numerous forges employed in the manufacture of swords and fcimitars, celebrated through Asia for the excellency of their temper and the keenness of their edge. In those ancient times, too, when it was the delight of warriors to clothe themselves in mail, and shine in arms of steel or burnished brass, which is formed of mingled calamine and copper, we cannot doubt of the important advantage, in point of commerce, arifing to the Persians, from the mineral D d 4 wealth

wealth of their country; nor that these and other articles of military request, the helmet, the buckler, the javelin, formed a considerable part of their ancient barter with the Indians, a nation, one of whose four grand tribes was, from early youth, wholly devoted to martial concerns.

Among the various articles enumerated as imported from Persia in after-ages into the Roman state, are reckoned Babylonian and Affyrian skins; and the incessant and politic attachment of the Parthians to the pleasures, or rather, as it was their custom to hunt only the most ferocious beasts, the toils, of the chase, must infallibly have secured them immense spoils of this kind, - and the most valuable of these, the tiger's, the leopard's, the panther's, fwelled the catalogue of the commodities transported to Cabul. It was not, however, alone the skins of dead animals in which the Persian merchants dealt: the caravans that carried these were followed by droves of living animals, reared with care in the wide champaign of that extensive country. The Persian breed of horses, whether for war or state, was more famous in antiquity than that of Arabia is at this day; especially that magnificent fpecies species bred in the Nisæan plains of Media, which were deemed inestimable. Horses, therefore, with their splendid caparisons and steely armour, formed another important branch of this vast traffic, and brought immense sums into the royal, as well as private, treasuries. They bred also mules and camels both for domestic and foreign sale; nor should the fine stuffs made of the camel's hair in Carmania, nor the still finer wool of that province, be wholly forgotten. Lastly, the bows and arrows, which they fabricated and used with so much skill, could not fail of being vended in large quantities to a nation nearly as dexterous in the use of those weapons as themfelves. For these, the Indians gave them the peculiar fruits of their own genial region; all kinds of precious stones; unwrought filk, brought from the Seres beyond the Ganges, together with cotton and fine linen, the labour of their own looms; aloes, spikenard, and other perfumes; the expressed juice of the fugar-cane, which then grew fo plentifully in India, that they fed their horses with it, as they do at this day in Berar; the indigo of Lahore, anciently the staple of that city, absolutely necessary to the Persians, as it was the basis

basis of their famous BLUE, which they used, and still use, in dyes; and all the rich variety of gums and spices produced in the peninsular regions of India.

From very remote periods, also, a confiderable commerce seems to have been established between the countries situated far to the north and north-west of the fertile provinces which we have been describing with Grand Tartary, and even China itself, under the name of Serica, or the filk region.* For that filk, the cabinets, porcelain, and other rich and useful manufactures of China, fo often and minutely enumerated before, were and are still bartered the most valuable furs and the finest ermines of the northern Asia, the musk of Thibet, and Siberian rhubarb, both the best of their kind in the world. It should not be forgotten, that the more northern provinces of Persia itself, Hyrcania, Margiana, Bactria, were formerly full of great and flourishing cities, whose inhabitants with avidity purchased the richest manufactures of India and China, brought to them by this route; while, still farther north, the isthmus,

which

^{*} Plinii Nat. Hist. lib. xxi. cap. g.

which separates the Caspian and Euxine Seas was covered with cities and nations now utterly exterminated. To be more particular, Eratolthenes, in Strabo,* informs us, that the merchandize of India passed by the Oxus through the Caspian, which the ancients, with inflexible obstinacy, persevered in supposing to have a communication with the Northern, and some even with the Indian, Ocean, into the Sea of Pontus. We also learn from Pliny, that it was but a journey of feven days from the frontiers of India, through the country of the Bactrians, to the river Icarus, which falls into the Oxus, down which stream the commodities of India were transported into the Caspian Sea. Thence, he adds, they were carried up the river Cyrus to a place within five days journey over land to Phasis, the capital of Colchis, in Grecian fable renowned for its golden fleece, which, in all probability, was nothing more than the golden produce of India, which the Argonauts fecured by opening the commerce of the Pontus Euxinus, or Black Sea. + At this day, the Oxus no longer

flows

^{*} Strabo, lib.ii. p. 87.

⁺ Plinii Nat. Hist, lib. ii. cap. 17.

hows into the Caspian, the miserable policy of the modern Tartars having induced them to divert its course, as well as that of the Iaxartes; and these two noble rivers are now lost and swallowed up in the sands of that boundless desert. Colchis itself, whose splendid and crowded marts allured to that region of Asia all the nations of the earth, is now only a vast forest, and its few inhabitants are not only flaves themselves, but carry on the horrid traffic in human flesh to a vast extent. The Russians are now in complete possession of this northern commerce, which is carried on, by caravans, over the deferts of Siberia, that enter the Chinese territories by Selinginskoy, in the 52d degree of north latitude; and Europe with astonishment has witnessed a traffic maintained between the capitals of two great empires, fituated from each other at the immense distance of above six thousand miles. It is, perhaps, a fortunate circumstance for Western Europe that astonishment is the only sensation, at present, materially excited; for should Russia be fully enabled to accomplish her ambitious aim to be a great naval power, and take that entire advantage which she seems determined to embrace

brace of the vast opening afforded her by the port of Astracan, in the Caspian, for the importation into the heart of her dominions of the richest commodities of Persia and the East-Indies; other sensations of no very pleafing kind will probably be excited, when she beholds one of the most powerful potentates of the earth possessed also of its richest com-The channels by which this trade may be conducted are well known to her geographers; are the subject of constant and increafing speculation; and, we may depend upon it, that with fuch a vigorous, enterprifing, and arbitrary, power as Russia, who possesses all the means of effecting her projects, nothing is wanting to its complete establishment but tolerable tranquillity restored to the distracted empires of Persia and Hindostan.

To return from this long, though necessary, digression on the commercial concerns of Egypt and Persia to our survey of the Athenians, we shall scarcely wonder at their being more addicted to nautical adventures than any other of the states of Greece, if we recollect that the abrupt and rocky surface of their country denying to its inhabitants the advan-

tage,

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tage, so amply enjoyed by the Indians, of navigable rivers and canals, for carrying on a vigorous internal traffic, their attention was, of necessity, principally directed to maritime commerce. Still, however, their ships made not the same majestic appearance as those of the Phoenicians did; nor were they directed with the naval skill of that nation. wrecks were frequent, and infurance, as well as speculation, frequently ran as high on the exchange of Athens as ever they have been known on that of London. In reality, the Euxine, the Ægean, and other seas,—seas of such inferior magnitude, that the Mediterranean was comparatively the ocean to them, -which were principally navigated by the early Greeks, were fo dangerous from shallows, and so subject to the agitation of tempests, that, whatever might be their ambition to rival the Tyrians and Carthaginians, they were compelled in general both to employ veffels of less magnitude, and load them with cargoes less valuable than those nations; though in their more distant voyages, to India and Britain, they must of necessity have made use of larger vessels. An account which we have in Xenophon, in his OEconomica, of a Phænician merchantmerchant-vessel, then in the port of Piræus, in which the dimensions of that vessel are compared with those of Greece, is an unanswerable confirmation of this statement. In truth, the Athenians were not accustomed to traffic in commodities of any very great bulk or weight; theirs, except in some particular instances, was a trade in articles of elegance and luxury. Their exports confifted of a great variety of rich wines, conveyed, however, in vessels of very inferior magnitude to those in which are transported to Britain the wines of Portugal and the Madeiras: those vesicles were either made of leathern bags, Arongly sewed together, resembling the modern borachies, or consisted of jars, considerable in fize, of which there was a celebrated manufactory established at Athens, for the express purpose of conveying abroad the curious produce of the Grecian vineyards. extensive groves of the plant sacred to Minerva, also, enabled them, not less than the Phænicians, to drive a confiderable trade in the purest oil; to which may be added, the valued honey and wax of Mount Hymettus. The Athenian merchants, also, exported to Asia, covetous of her rarities, all those inimitable

table productions of her artists in statuary, painting, metallurgy, and every branch of mechanic science, which rendered Greece so renowned; and, finally, the rich filver mines, with which Attica was stored, afforded her the abundant means of carrying on an extenfive traffic in that precious metal with India, a country, whose avarice for that commodity, after twenty centuries, is still as insatiable as ever. The principal imports of the Athenians were grain from Sicily and the adjoining isles, for the support of the numerous inhabitants of their crowded metropolis; flaves in aftonishing multitudes were also constantly imported by a nation, boasting its love of liberty, to work in those mines, to labour at the oar in their numerous gallies, and do that species of fervile drudgery which they conceived degrading to freemen. From India, their vessels, in return for the filver of Sunium and the copper of Colonos, of which their admirable works in bronze were fabricated, brought the precious gems and spiceries native to the Peninsula; the fine and delicate muslins which the ancients called Sindones, and which were transported, across the Gauts, in waggons, from the Eastern coast of that Peninsula, and from Hindostan proper,

proper, to Barygaza; and the sugar, indigo, and dyed cottons, brought down the Indus to Patala; from Persia and Arabia they imported brocades, carpets, and the various rich drugs, persumes, and cosmetics, of which the unbounded extravagance of the Grecian courtezans, and, we may add, the degenerate esseminacy of the men, called for constant and abundant supplies.

valuable commerce, the Athenians constantly maintained, in the three basons of their grand port of Piræus, a very powerful fleet; and the perpetual contests, in which they were engaged with the maritime states around them, failed not to keep alive their martial spirit, and grandually improve, beyond even Phænician excellence, their naval skill.

After this general view of the Grecian marine and commerce, it is high time that we should attend them to the British coast for that TIN, without which a nation of artists and manufacturers could not possibly carry on their respective occupations. It was absolutely necessary to the chemist, the glazier, the painter, the enameller, the gilder, the potter, and entered largely, as before observed, into Vol. VI. E e several

several other branches of domestic trade: "N formed the ground of that wonderful foechs men of the skill of the ancients in engraving and working in metals, the shield of Achilles, described by Homer, from whom we also de-i rive another proof of the early traffic of the Greeks in this commodity; for, in the Odyffer, he introduces Minerva, in the disguise of a stranger, affirming herself to be a foreign merchant, going to Temese to explore TIN for the purpose of exchanging it against non.* The probable period of the first ar Hval of the Greeks, as traders in these islands. may be justly inferred from the passage previal oully cited from Herodotus, in which the confesses, that the Greeks of his day (and Herodotus flourished about the middle of the fifth century before Christ) were ignorated of those northern extremities of Europe, whence amber and tin were brought, that is, the shores of the Baltic and Britain. + The profound secrecy which the Tyrians and their colonies preserved in regard to the British isles, and their tract hither, has been also no-

ticed,

^{*} Odyssey, lib. i. verse 182.

⁺ See before, page 429.

we ought not to assign for that event a period more early than the destruction of Tyre, by Alexander, and the subsequent subversion of the Persian empire; events that rouzed the dormant ambition of Greece widely to expand both her military and naval fame, and explore the most distant quarters of that globe to which they aspired to give law.

The term Caffiterides, however, which was before observed to be a Greek translation of the Phœnician Baratanac, and by which the Scilly islands and the Cornish coast were, in fact, known to the Greek traders, a term used both by Herodotus himself, and Strabo afterwards, undeniably proves, that, though not yet geographically described, or commercially vifited, accident or curiofity must have led Grecian vessels to our coasts before that æra; for how otherwise should the Greeks have given name to an island of which they were in total ignorance? How, on the other hand, could the Greek characters and language have been known, and upon all occasions in which their religious rites and mysterious discipline were not concerned, made use of by the Druids, as is expressly affirmed in Cæsar's Commen-E e 2 taries,

taries, unless a long and intimate connection had previously subsisted between the two people? The truth is, there was another channel by which that language might have come into use, at least in the maritime ports of Britain, and that was by way of Massilia, now Marseilles, to which mart we have already ob-Terved a commerce in tin was anciently carried on, through the heart of France, by British. and Gallic merchants, in connection with the Phænicians, and, on their decline, with the Carthaginians and Greeks. Now Massilia was founded, according to Solinus,* by the Phocæans fix hundred years before Christ; and, being a Greek colony, having the Greek manners, talking the Greek language, and being the only mart in that part of the Mediterranean for the tin of the Cassiterides, it can excite no wonder if, in the course of so many centuries, with the commodities brought back from Marseilles, the merchants imported also the language of the place, especially as we learn from Strabo, that, in his time, the Gallic inhabitants of Massilia and its neighbourhood were assiduous in cultivating every branch of

· Solinus, cap. viñ.

Greek

Greek literature, and were so attached to the Greek language, that not only academies were instituted in that city for teaching it to their sons, but that the merchants wrote their contracts and made their bargains in it.*

It is rather fingular, that so profound an adept in British antiquities as Camden should fix the earliest visit of the Greeks to these islands at a period not more remote than about one hundred and fixty years before the arrival of Cæsar, under a certain Phileus Taurominites, when there is so plain an allusion to this island in that passage alluded to before in Diodorus Siculus, citing Hecatæus, a still more ancient writer, relative to the hyperborean island opposite Gaul, whose priests sang the praises of Apollo upon their harps in circular temples, and that Pytheas, a celebrated astronomer of Marseilles, is reported by Strabo not only to have vifited, but to have described, these hyperborean isles. The voyage of this learned Greek, I am of opinion, will give usnearly the exact period when the navigators of that nation first ploughed the British ocean; for, it was about the period of Alexander the

* Strabo, lib. iv. p. 231.

Great,

Siest, when that philosopher is faid to have suffed through the Straits, and to have failed to so high a degree of north latitude, as to have feen the fun only for a moment of time fink below the horizon, and then emerge; a fact, which, by aftronomical arguments, may be proved possible to have taken place about the 68th degree north, where, in the furnment and when the fun is in Cancer, there is no might.* That Britain, at all events, must have been explored, and the principal commodities trafficked in by its inhabitants have been in great request in Greece, when Polybius Mourished, which was above two hundred years before Christ, is evinced by a fact rerorded in Strabo, that the same Polybius had written an express treatise were run Bernennun PHOSON RES THE RESULTED RATES TO THE THE THE PARTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROP the British islands, and the process of making TIM; and this word Bestavaar, thus early occurring in a Greek writer, may be considered as an additional testimony of the name being originally derived from the Phænician Baratamac, or Bretanac, fince, from the Phonician mavigators only, could they have obtained any

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[•] Diadorus Sicalus, liber p. 308.

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information about it. * It is unfortunate, that this treatife of Polybius, which probably contained many curious and interesting particulars relative to these islands and our anceftors, has not descended to posterity. Pliny's affertion, also, ought here to have some weight, that, long before the period in which the Romans visited this country, Britain was famous in Greek monuments. - Whatever truth there may be in that affertion, few veftiges of the Greeks were ever to be met with in these islands, and the arguments which fome writers have founded, on the number of Greek words interspersed in the old British dialect, lose their force when we consider their affinity with the Celtic, the common parent of both. The Greeks did not come hither to improve our language or correct our taste; they formed no settlements on the coast, nor penetrated into the inland parts of the country; they came hither as mariners and merchants; they took our tin and lead for the Indian market, and gave the Britons articles of cutlery and other wares tingmined by the spr aron are no or the

* Strabo, lib. iv. in loco cit. To 208 Dane 2

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[†] Plinii Nat. Hist. lib. xvii. cap. 4.

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fuited to the wants of a warlike and barbarous people.

The destruction of Tyre and Carthage, threw the whole commerce of the Mediterranean into the hands of the Athenians; for, their rivals, the Lacedæmonians, principally studious of military glory in the embattled field, had but little inclination to engage in naval concerns. Their discriminating character, however, of ferocious bravery, added to an insatiable thirst of wealth, did not permit them to be wholly without a navy, which was, for the most part, employed in acts of barbarous aggression on their peaceful neighbours. The nautical genius of the Athenians, however, still foared with a bolder flight, and having a dynasty of Grecian monarchs on the throne of Persia, and also another dynasty on that of Egypt, they foon arrived to that aftonishing height of naval splendor, which they enjoyed for nearly three hundred years, the most brilliant æra in the annals of Asia, at the close of which the power of the Seleucidæ, in Syria, and of the Ptolemies, in Egypt, became extinguished by the superior Lustre of the RISING SUN OF ROME.

END OF VOL. VI.

